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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ALBERTA'S ETUDES SOCIALES AND THE FRENCH FACT

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Alberta's Etudes Sociales and The French Fact" submitted by Yvette Thérèse Marie Mahé in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

.....

Supervisor

James B. Sorsone

.....

Ruth Ann Pitts

.....

Date October 4, 1978.....

DEDICATION

To my grandmother,

a Western French-Canadian pioneer woman and teacher

who valued knowledge.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to seek the relationships between the interpretations and meanings of The French Fact as understood by historians, social commentators and by a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students, and the Etudes Sociales curriculum. By applying the analytical theme of power and lack of power to the data gathered on The French Fact, evidence seemed to indicate that French-Canadians in Western Canada have evolved into different cultural persons than French-Canadians living in Quebec.

In comparing French-Canadian society in Quebec to that of French-Canadian society in Western Canada the data seemed to indicate that Quebeckers, by virtue of their political power in Quebec, have managed to evolve a modern, viable and dynamic French culture to meet the demands of an industrialized world. In Western Canada, French-Canadians, having lost political and economic power at the turn of the century, gradually saw their rights to French instruction reduced to permissions as the French language lost its equality of status at the provincial level. In Alberta, which is the context for this study, French-Canadians, by virtue of having lost control or given up control of their significant institutions combined with other external factors, were unable to evolve the French culture as had done Quebeckers. The devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada has had several implications on Franco-Albertans. French-Canadians in Alberta have become dependent upon the majority culture for the education of their young. Without a right to French instruction, legislation increasing instructional time in French since the late 1950's in schools offering instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act has not been

sufficient to assist Franco-Albertans in maintaining their language and culture. The increasing rate of assimilation of Franco-Albertans appears to be influenced by the negative or "subtractive" bilingual practices in Alberta's bilingual schools.

Without political power in education, Franco-Albertans are faced with translated or adapted curriculum guides for French instruction which originate from the Alberta Education's Curriculum Branch. The Etudes Sociales curriculum which reflects the majority society's philosophies of life could become attractive to young Franco-Albertans, especially since the French language and culture in Alberta can no longer offer Franco-Albertans a sense of unity and power. The growing concept of bilingualism in Alberta may have assisted certain Franco-Albertans in maintaining the French language, but the French culture per se has become an amalgam of different thought forms--a sort of "franglais" culture has evolved. Adding a theme on The French Fact at each grade level in the Etudes Sociales curriculum was deemed to be insufficient for developing a more additive form of bilingualism in Alberta's bilingual schools.

The study concluded with suggestions as to how a more relevant Etudes Sociales curriculum could be developed for use in Alberta's bilingual schools. These suggestions take into consideration the dual linguistic and cultural nature of Canadian society and the cultural pluralism of Canadian society. The objectives proposed for an Etudes Sociales Program of Studies should aim at developing a more tolerant and open-minded person.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PART I. BACKGROUND TO THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Since December, 1974 I was a member on three Alberta Education Ad Hoc Committees responsible for the development of the following Etudes Sociales curriculum guides:

1. Guide pédagogique à l'usage des professeurs des études sociales de la 7^{e}, 8^{e}, et 9^{e} année, Edition préliminaire (Alberta Education, 1975). This guide is referred to in this study as "the Junior High Curriculum Guide."

2. Guide pédagogique à l'usage des professeurs des études sociales de la 10^{e}, 11^{e}, et 12^{e} année, (Ministère de l'Education, Alberta, 1976). This guide is referred to in this study as "the Senior High Curriculum Guide."

3. Guide pédagogique des études sociales élémentaire 2^{e} cycle, Edition intérimaire (Alberta Education, 1977). This guide is referred to in this study as "the Upper Elementary Curriculum Guide." These guides are meant for use in Alberta schools which offer instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act.

The work on the Committees for the development of a social studies curriculum for Franco-Albertan students and bilingual students was wrought with frustrations, confusions and contradictions. During my committee involvement I did not always clearly understand the full

implication of what we were doing, and yet I constantly felt that more fundamental issues were being glossed over. At the beginning of my involvement on these Committees I had been under the impression that we were developing a curriculum which would be based on the needs, aspirations and expectations of Franco-Albertans. I was somewhat dismayed when I became aware that we did not, as French-Canadian curriculum developers, have the power to explicitly develop a curriculum based on a French-Canadian outlook. As a result of curriculum decision-making limitations placed upon the Committees by Alberta Education and as a consequence of the Committee members own personal biases, traditions, orientations and values, a curriculum was designed which conceals multiple societal-cultural goals and values.

As the Etudes Sociales curriculum is a new innovation in the area of bilingual education in Alberta, several questions came to my mind: Why were curriculum decision-making limitations placed upon the Committee members by Alberta Education? What did these multiple societal-cultural goals and values imply? Was there a relationship between these multiple societal-cultural goals and our bilingual education practices in Alberta? Were these multiple societal-cultural goals a reflection of our political, economic and social practices in Canadian society? What could be the implications for classroom practice of a curriculum founded on conflicting and competing sets of assumptions, values and beliefs? A dissatisfaction with the existing policies and practices of Etudes Sociales curriculum development combined with a desire to obtain answers to the above questions motivated me to do this study.

A. THE STATE OF THE ETUDES SOCIALES CURRICULUM IN ALBERTA

Prior to the 1970's, l'Association des Educateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta (l'A.E.B.A.) planned and organized the curriculum for religion, oral French, French grammar and reading and also for an "Enrichment Activity" called l'Histoire du Canada (Sister Saint-Sylva, 1960, p. 49). In the early 1970's, under Alberta Regulation 287/70, "The French Language Regulations," the Alberta Education's Curriculum Branch assumed the responsibility for prescribing the courses of study and instructional materials for instruction in French (Alberta Education, 1973, p. 19). Upon assuming this responsibility, Alberta Education had the Social Studies documents, Experiences in Decision Making and Responding to Change translated into French for use in Alberta schools which offer instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act. A study by Fortier and Sister Trottier during the school year 1973-1974 revealed that bilingual educators had found that, in the past, translated Social Studies documents did not meet the needs of students in bilingual schools, "Le programme antérieur ne répond pas aux besoins des élèves" (1974, Vol. II, p. 414).

In an effort to develop a more appropriate Etudes Sociales curriculum for use in bilingual schools, a group of bilingual educators who had drafted an Interim Curriculum Guide, Enseigner les sciences sociales for the grades 7, 8 and 9 (Edmonton Roman Catholic Separate School Board, 1973) negotiated with Alberta Education for the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee for the purpose of developing more appropriate Etudes Sociales curriculum guides. As a result of these negotiations Alberta Education organized an Etudes Sociales Junior High Ad Hoc Committee in 1974 made up of bilingual French-Canadian educators.

These educators were assigned the task of developing a curriculum guide which would "help teachers implement an appropriate program in classes where French is used as a language of instruction" (Alberta Education, Minutes of Meeting, February 9, 1974).

B. SOCIETAL-CULTURAL GOALS DERIVED FROM POWER

The Ad Hoc Committee responsible for the development of a Junior High Curriculum Guide were advised at a meeting with a representative of Alberta Education that they would have to follow the prescribed guidelines as set out in the Alberta Department of Education publications: Program of Studies, Experiences in Decision Making and Responding to Change. The direction from Alberta Education that the Ad Hoc Committee members would have to follow prescribed guidelines when developing the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides meant that the philosophical and theoretical basis for the Etudes Sociales curriculum had to be founded on philosophies of life relevant to the majority society, but not necessarily appropriate to the French-Canadian culture.

Even though the Junior High Committee members had formulated a rationale for inclusion in the Preface of the Etudes Sociales curriculum guide, their rationale was subordinated to the Social Studies' philosophical basis. The Ad Hoc Committee members stated explicitly in the curriculum guides they developed that the Etudes Sociales rationale did not oppose nor did it replace the philosophical and theoretical basis of the Alberta Social Studies Program. The statement which urged teachers to consult the prescribed Social Studies documents reads as follows in the Etudes Sociales Junior High,

Senior High and Upper Elementary Curriculum Guides:

> Ce guide pédagogique est une parution de service seulement. Il n'engage donc pas le professeur à en suivre les données à titre prescriptif. Les seules prescriptions sont trouvées dans la publication officielle "Program of Studies" que ce guide respecte. Elles sont élaborées dans le document "Responding to Change." Les membres du comité rappellent aux professeurs que l'avant propos de ce guide ne s'oppose ni ne remplace la philosophie et les notes préliminaires de la publication "Responding to Change." Nous recommandons fortement que tous se familiarisent avec les documents mentionnés ci-haut avant d'utiliser ce guide (Alberta Education, 1975, p. II; 1976, p. II; 1977, p. I).

C. SOCIETAL-CULTURAL GOALS DERIVED FROM FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE

Without excluding the fact that the Etudes Sociales' philosophical and theoretical prescriptions originated from the majority's cultural goals, the Ad Hoc Committee members deemed it desirable in the Preface of the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides to include their own rationale which would explain to the teacher using the curriculum guides the Committee members' perceptions as to what ought to be the goals and aims of the Etudes Sociales in bilingual schools. In their effort to prepare an "appropriate" curriculum, the Committee members proceeded to formulate a rationale which took into consideration the following factors: the aims and objectives of bilingual education in Alberta, Franco-Albertan parent expectations, and the Committee members' own perceptions as bilingual educators of student needs.

The aims and objectives of bilingual education in Alberta are outlined in an Alberta Education document, Bilingual Education, The Alberta Experience (1973). Of particular interest to the curriculum developers was the following passage:

> The primary thrust of bilingual education for children who do not speak English as a native language should be that of helping the child to develop an awareness of and a pride

> in his culture and an understanding of the culture of the majority society while simultaneously learning to communicate effectively in his own language as well as in English. For the English-speaking child, bilingual education should enable him to become aware of and to develop an appreciation for the cultural group whose language he is learning while gaining fluency in this language as well as in his own (p. 10).

These aims and objectives of bilingual education were basically in accordance with Franco-Albertan parent expectations.

Nogue, a Committee member who had conducted research into Franco-Albertan parent expectations, reported to the Committee that parents expect that bilingual schools provide their children with an opportunity to become not only bilingual, but also that the school should project a French-Canadian image (1973). Members of the Committee were of the opinion that bilingual schools were not necessarily helping Franco-Albertan students to communicate effectively in their own language.

Bussière, a Committee member who had conducted a study into the linguistic performance of Franco-Albertan students in bilingual schools reported that even in a bilingual milieu Franco-Albertan students had a tendency of using English expressions and English structures in their written and oral work in French (1974). A study by Jackson (1970) in the Falher-Peace River region and a study by McCalla (1974, Vol. II, pp. 507-515) of five elementary bilingual schools in Edmonton, Bonnyville and Falher supported Bussière's findings.

In ensuing discussions, the Junior High Ad Hoc Committee members reached the conclusion that the purpose of the Etudes Sociales curriculum in bilingual schools should be not only to assist students in developing their linguistic abilities but also to provide a pride

in their culture. Further, the Committee members believed that the Etudes Sociales ought to make students aware of their changing social reality by assisting them in understanding social phenomena and by giving them the opportunities to consciously participate in their social reality. The Committee members' perception of the purpose and the role of the Etudes Sociales in bilingual education was made explicit in the Junior High Curriculum Guide as follows:

> En outre, dans les écoles bilingues nous poursuivons le but de développer des élèves qui pourront s'exprimer en deux langues. De plus, comme professeurs, nous réalisons que les sociétés locale, albertaine, canadienne et internationale, obligent l'étudiant à se réadapter continuellement. Le jeune d'aujourd'hui est appelé à faire face à une réalité toujours changeante. Cette réalité lui impose des choix de plus en plus nombreux. Si nous voulons que nos étudiants soient en mesure de faire face à cette réalité, le programme d'études sociales doit les sensibiliser à leur "réalité sociale". Il doit aussi permettre à l'élève de comprendre les phénomènes sociaux et lui fournir les moyens et l'occasion de prendre position face à ces derniers. Enfin, il doit les encourager à participer consciemment à la vie (Alberta Education, 1975, p. II).

This same statement became incorporated into the Senior High and the Upper Elementary Curriculum Guides (1976, p. II; 1977, p. II).

D. THE FRENCH FACT AS A CULTURAL TRANSMISSION COMPONENT

The Ad Hoc Committee members were of the opinion that even though they were limited from determining the Etudes Sociales' philosophical and theoretical basis they could still, by including a theme on The French Fact (le fait français) at each grade level, transmit French-Canadian philosophies of life and cultural meanings to Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools. The decision to include a theme on The French Fact was not a new idea to the Committee members. This theme had formed a salient feature in the Interim Curriculum

Guide, Enseigner les sciences sociales, Grades 7 - 9, (Edmonton R.C.S.S.B., 1973).

The Ad Hoc Committee members who had been involved with the development of the Interim Curriculum Guide had no difficulty in getting the Junior High Committee members to agree to include this salient feature in the Etudes Sociales curriculum. The meaning of The French Fact itself was never questioned. In a loose sense, the Committee members used the idea of The French Fact to refer simply to the cultural and linguistic presence in Canadian society of French-Canadians. When the Committee members began to select content for inclusion under the theme The French Fact, they, evidently, either had an interest in maintaining traditional French-Canadian culture or in creating a more viable and dynamic French culture in the modern world. These were two conflicting problems.

What the Ad Hoc Committee members had in common was an interest in the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians, but the means and the methods they intended to employ to achieve this goal conflicted. The Committee members from both the Junior High and the Upper Elementary Ad Hoc Committees with an interest in maintaining traditional French-Canadian culture deemed it desirable that Franco-Albertan students be exposed to traditional French-Canadian history with its myths and its heroes. Whereas those members with an interest in creating a modern, viable and dynamic French culture considered making Franco-Albertan students aware of the French-Canadian's past and present economic, political and social struggle for cultural and linguistic survival appropriate and valuable. These members argued for an increased student understanding of their present situation

and provision for opportunities for students to speculate on the possible future of French-Canadians and of the French language in the world. This particular group also articulated the sentiment that the Etudes Sociales curriculum should not be oriented toward indoctrinating students into traditional thought forms, values and belief systems as had been done in the past. This position was made explicit in the Junior High and the Upper Elementary Curriculum Guides as follows:

> Pour aider l'étudiant à prendre conscience des phénomènes de l'homme dans le monde, sans lui imposer des valeurs au sujet des sociétés passées, présentes et futures, le programme d'études sociales doit offrir à l'étudiant l'occasion d'étudier différents systèmes d'organisation sociale (Alberta Education, 1973, p. II; 1977, p. II).

E. IMPLICATIONS OF COMPETING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FRENCH FACT

An analysis of the perceptions underlying The French Fact theme in the Junior High and the Upper Elementary Curriculum Guides revealed two competing sets of societal-cultural goals derived from the French-Canadian curriculum developers own biases, traditions and norms. At the grades 4, 5, and 7 levels the content has been interpreted from a traditional historical-clerical perspective demonstrating a set of assumptions, values and beliefs oriented toward maintaining a traditional French-Canadian social order.[1] At the grades 6, 8 and 9 levels the content has been interpreted from a cultural and linguistic struggle for survival perspective which gives a semblance of being oriented toward changing or improving the existing social order.[2] The competing sets of societal-cultural goals which found their way into the Etudes Sociales curriculum's substantive content raised the following concern: If a small group of French-Canadian curriculum developers interpreted The French Fact from two competing but largely

unexplicated perspectives, how could clarity be introduced into the confusion surrounding the implicitly held ideals, principles and values underlying these perspectives? More specifically, if the Etudes Sociales curriculum conceals multiple societal-cultural goals based on different sets of conflicting and competing assumptions, values and interests, what could be the implications for classroom practice of such a curriculum? How could these conflicting and competing societal-cultural goals be made more explicit so that they could be presented for open debate?

PART II. STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE FOR THIS STUDY

As the Etudes Sociales curriculum in Alberta is a recent curriculum development endeavour undertaken by Alberta Education in the area of French language instruction under Section 150 of the School Act I felt that there was a need to inquire into the philosophical and moral commitment underlying this curriculum and to inquire into its alternatives and its consequences. In order to make possible a more thoughtful and responsible Etudes Sociales curriculum there is a need to inquire into the meaning of The French Fact and to speculate on the implications of these interpretations for curriculum development.

PART III. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THE METHOD OF ITS APPROACH

This study is an inquiry into the Etudes Sociales curriculum. Specifically, this study inquires into the historical and contemporary interpretations of the meaning of The French Fact as the context of curriculum development for Etudes Sociales. An understanding of The French Fact for program construction in bilingual education, particular-

ly with a focus on Etudes Sociales, is sought in this study. This part of the study requires an approach that is historical and conceptual in nature.

An effort is made in this study to inquire into The French Fact as perceived by a limited sample of Junior High students. The method used for this section is the case-study approach. No attempt is made to claim validity for the findings beyond the group studied.

Finally, this study inquires into the implication of the above findings and an attempt is made to construct from various curriculum vantage points a series of recommendations for Etudes Sociales.

The following guiding inquiry questions arise from a statement of the problem:

The French Fact

1. As seen through the eyes of historian and social commentators what is the meaning of The French Fact in Quebec and in the West?

2. How are the themes of power and lack of power useful analytic themes for arriving at alternative formulations of meaning of The French Fact?

a) How were our early conceptions of The French Fact formed?

b) How was the concept of The French Fact conceived by the clergy?

c) How did the concept of The French Fact evolve in Quebec society?

d) Can French culture outside of Quebec, more specifically in Western Canada, take the same route as in Quebec?

Bilingual Education and Etudes Sociales

1. In the context of Etudes Sociales, what is the relationship between political power and lack of political power in education?

2. What multiple-societal goals underlie the theory and practice of Etudes Sociales?

3. What is the purpose of these multiple-societal goals?

The Franco-Albertan Student

1. How do Franco-Albertan students perceive themselves, members of their culture, and the majority society? And, what aspirations and fears do these students have with respect to their experiences of The French Fact?

Curriculum Development and Policy-Making

1. On the basis of this study, what curriculum development, policy conclusions and recommendations can be drawn from the vantage point of the student, the milieu, the teacher, the society, the subject matter, curriculum development and policy-making?

   a) What alternative formulations of The French Fact ought to form part of the Etudes Sociales curriculum in bilingual education?

   b) What future research ought to be conducted in bilingual schools in the area of the Etudes Sociales?

PART IV. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

This study is limited and delimited in the following ways:

1. Policy-making information on how Alberta Education arrives at making decisions affecting bilingual education in Alberta is lacking.

2. The philosophical commitments of School Boards offering French as a language of instruction under Section 150 of the School Act are more implicit than they are explicit.

3. The small sample taken for describing Franco-Albertan students' perceptions at the Grade 9 level is not generalizable to other populations in bilingual schools. The varying operational definitions of bilingual curriculum in the different areas of the province is one main reason that the study is not generalizable. In 1975 when this study began the Etudes Sociales curriculum (1) was not taught at all grade levels in bilingual schools; (2) in some schools the Etudes Sociales curriculum was taught in French only one-third of the time and (3) in other schools was combined with Langue et Littérature.

4. When this study was started in 1975, the only research in the area of the Etudes Sociales in Alberta's bilingual schools that existed was a study by Fortier and Sister Trottier (1974, Vol. II, pp. 413-418).

5. The present study does not inquire into any other themes besides that of The French Fact which make up the Etudes Sociales curriculum.

6. When referring in this study to members of a particular Ad Hoc Committee, generalized statements are made in order to maintain the participants anonymity.

7. Even though Alberta Education is presently in the process of revising the Alberta Social Studies Program, this study limits itself to the Program of Studies and curriculum guides being used in Alberta schools from 1974 up until the end of 1977 as the earlier documents

formed the basis for the Etudes Sociales curriculum referred to in this study.

PART V. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ad Hoc Committee

The three Alberta Education Ad Hoc Committees referred to in this study were officially called: (1) Ad Hoc Committee, Social Studies Junior High (French), (2) Ad Hoc Committee, French Language Policy (Social Studies, Grades 10, 11 and 12), (3) Ad Hoc Committee, French Language Policy (Social Studies, Grades 4, 5, and 6). Respectively, the organizational meetings of the three above referred to Ad Hoc Committees were held on: (1) February 8, 1974, (2) June 12, 1976, (3) December 2 and 3, 1976.

Bilingual Education

In Alberta the term "bilingual education" could imply instruction not only in French; but it could also imply instruction in Ukrainian, German or another language. For the purpose of this study the term "bilingual education" is used specifically in reference to Section 150 (1), Chapter 100, An Act Respecting Public and Separate Schools which states as follows: "(1) A board may authorize that French be used as a language of instruction in addition to the English language in all or any of its schools" (1970).

Etudes Sociales

In this study the term "Etudes Sociales" has been used because it is the French term for "Social Studies." The term "Etudes Sociales" has been used by Alberta Education in its curriculum publications as

outlined on page one of this study.

Franco-Albertans

According to Statistics Canada, in 1971 there were 46,500 Albertans who declared to be of French maternal tongue, or 94,665 who claimed French paternal ancestry. Out of the total Franco-Albertan population claiming French as a maternal tongue in 1971, 41% were situated in the Edmonton area; 16% in the St. Paul - Bonnyville - Lac la Biche area, and 16% in the Peace River area (Mabru, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 168-235). The remaining French-Canadian population were distributed across the province of Alberta. The term "Franco-Albertan" has been used in this study in reference to either French-Canadians claiming French maternal tongue or French paternal ancestry in order to distinguish this French-Canadian group from other French-Canadians across Canada.

PART VI. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS STUDY

Even though Chapters II (The French Fact), III (Bilingual Education and the Etudes Sociales Curriculum) and IV (An Exploratory Case-Study into the Perceptions of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan Students) have been approached as separate topical themes, the overriding question which links these three Chapters together is as follows: What can young Franco-Albertans attending bilingual schools in Alberta become? Chapters II, III, and IV were basically designed to make explicit: societal, cultural and educational assumptions, values and beliefs which could have a determining effect upon the cultural and linguistic future of young Franco-Albertans.

Because of the complex nature of French-Canadian society,

a distinction was made in Chapter II between French-Canadian society in Quebec as compared to French-Canadian society in Western Canada. The analytical theme of power and lack of power was used to make comparative statements as follows: French-Canadians in Quebec, as a result of having power over their institutions at the provincial level, managed to develop and evolve the French culture into a modern, viable and dynamic culture. Western French-Canadians, by virtue of having lost control over their significant institutions, have become dependent upon the English culture. The implications of the Western French-Canadians loss of control over their significant institutions have been further demonstrated in Chapter III. Chapter III proceeds to outline how the dominancy of the English culture, especially in the area of bilingual education, has limited French-Canadians in Alberta from preserving and/or evolving the French culture in Western Canada. The Franco-Albertan's lack of political power in education has a determining effect upon Franco-Albertan students' perceptions. In Chapter IV of this study the perceptions of a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students clearly demonstrate that young French-Canadians attending bilingual schools in Alberta are exposed to a subtractive form of bilingualism rather than an additive form of bilingualism. As a result young French-Canadians attending bilingual schools in Alberta are not the same cultural persons as French-Canadians in Quebec because their perceptions of others, and their own self-concepts are but reflections of an environment where the English language and culture predominates. Given the nature of Franco-Albertan society within the context of Canadian society, Chapter V of this study was designed to seek ways and means which could assist young Franco-Albertans to maintain their

language and develop their culture within the established concept of bilingual education in Alberta. Objectives and recommendations are outlined in Chapter V which aim to assist students in bilingual schools to develop tolerant and open-minded attitudes.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]The value and sub-value questions as found in the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides which reflect a traditional French-Canadian historical-clerical perspective under the theme, The French Fact are as follows:

Grade 4

Thème organisateur: Le fait français dans l'ouest du Canada (les trafiquants de fourrures et la nation métisse).

Question de valeurs: Aurais-tu aimé vivre dans le temps des trafiquants de fourrures?

Note explicative: Le rôle des Métis dans l'histoire du Canada a été souvent dévalorisé. L'histoire de la nation métisse est une manifestation importante du fait français au Canada.

Sous-question de valeurs:

1. Si tu te trouvais seul dans un pays inconnu, quels seraient tes réactions et tes sentiments? Explique-toi.
2. Comment réagirais-tu face aux indigènes de ce pays étranger, qui t'auraient offert l'hospitalité et l'amitié? Explique-toi.
3. Pourquoi, selon toi, les trappeurs et les trafiquants de fourrures ont-ils épousé des Indiennes? Explique-toi.
4. Aurais-tu aimé vivre dans la brousse comme un enfant métis? Explique-toi.

Faits et généralisations:
Les premiers Européens à coloniser l'Ouest du Canada étaient des trafiquants de fourrures.
Les trafiquants de fourrures travaillaient pour la compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest et étaient fréquemment en contact avec les Indiens.
Ces hommes seuls finissaient, souvent, par épouser des Indiennes et par adopter certaines de leurs moeurs et de leurs coutumes.
On appelait "Métis" les enfants issus de ces mariages et la plupart de ces Métis étaient francophones.
Les métis ont constitué un important groupe culturel demeurant dans les Prairies et en 1870 l'Acte du Manitoba leur a accordé le statut de province bilingue (Alberta Education, Guide pédagogique des études sociales élémentaire 2o cycle, 1977, pp. 10-11).

Grade 5

Thème organisateur: Le fait français dans l'ouest du Canada (la colonisation de l'Alberta par les canadiens français).

Question de valeurs: Quelle est l'importance du fait français dans l'histoire de l'Alberta?

Note explicative: L'oeuvre de grands personnages, tel que le Père Lacombe, a toujours été racontée dans les livres d'histoire mais il est nécessaire aussi d'étudier les causes et les mécanismes du mouvement de la colonisation canadienne-française de l'Alberta et l'évolution des communautés canadiennes-française jusqu'à présent.

Sous-question de valeurs:

1. D'après toi, quels étaient les avantages et les désavantages du fait que c'était l'Eglise catholique qui était le principal recruteur des colons de langue français pour l'Alberta? Explique-toi.
2. Si tu avais été un colon francophone qui aurait habité dans l'Est du Canada (ou aux Etats-Unis), qu'est-ce qui aurait pu t'attirer en Alberta? Par contre, qu'est-ce qui t'aurait retenu dans l'Est?
3. Quels furent, selon toi, les problèmes recontrés par les communautés franco-albertaines naissantes à l'intérieur d'une région anglophone?
4. Crois-tu que ce soit plus ou moins difficile de maintenir l'intégrité et la solidarité de la communauté franco-albertaine aujourd'hui que ce ne l'était dans le passé? Pourquoi?

Faits et généralisations:
Des prêtres missionnaires de langue française encourageaient les Canadiens français à venir s'installer en Alberta.
Bien qu'en 1842 l'Eglise catholique ait fondé sa première mission en Alberta, ce n'est qu'à partir de 1890 que le mouvement de colonisation prit son essor.
L'Eglise catholique, le Gouvernement fédéral et des groupements locaux, tels que la Société de Colonisation d'Edmonton et le journal L'Ouest Canadien, ainsi que les colons eux-mêmes, tous ont contribué à promouvoir la colonisation de l'Alberta par des Canadiens de langue française.
Un grand nombre de nouveaux colons étaient des anciens Québécois qui s'étaient établis aux Etats-Unis, d'autres sont venus directement du Québec, tandis que peu d'entre eux sont arrivés des pays francophones d'Europe.
Les colons ont établi des communautés franco-albertaines surtout dans le centre de la province, généralement près d'une mission (ex.: St-Albert, Vegreville, Lac LaBiche).
L'année 1912 marque la dernière période de colonisation avec l'établissement de communautés telles que Donnelly et Falher, près de Rivière-la-Paix.
Dû aux pressions de l'urbanisation et à l'éparpillement de sa population, la communauté franco-albertaine d'aujourd'hui doit lutter pour maintenir sa solidarité et sa culture (pp. 20-21).

Grade 7

Thème organisateur: Le fait français.

Question de valeurs: Est-ce que les Canadiens-français ont joué un rôle au cours de leur histoire?

Sous-questions de valeurs:

1. Quels sont les évènements importants dans l'histoire de la Nouvelle France?
2. Comment peut-on expliquer la lenteur de l'accroissement démographique de la Nouvelle France?
3. Quels étaient les fondements de la société de la Nouvelle-France?
4. Si vous aviez été canadien-français en 1837 quel rôle auriez-vous joué face à la rébellion?

Concepts:

- Faits--géographiques, historiques
- Statistiques
- La religion
- Le système féodal
- Les coureurs de bois (Groseiller et Radisson)
- Les cents associés
- Exploration - (LaVérendrye-d'Iberville)
- L'administration de la Nouvelle France
- Les problèmes avant 1837
- Les leaders
- Le rôle du clergé (Alberta Education, Guide pédagogique à l'usage des professeurs des études sociales de la 7e, 8e, et 9e année, 1975, pp. 10-11).

[2]The value and sub-value questions as found in the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides which reflect a cultural-linguistic survival perspective under the theme, The French Fact are as follows:

Grade 6

Thème organisateur: Les racines de la société canadienne (la langue et la culture).

Question de valeurs: Pourquoi parler le français?

Note explicative: Sans langue vivante, une culture ne peut être une culture vivante, donc la vitalité d'une culture se mesure à la pratique de la langue et non pas par la musique, les danses, la cuisine ou autres manifestations folkloriques.

Sous-question de valeurs:

1. Comment te sens-tu quand tu parles le français? l'anglais?
2. En quels termes pourrais-tu définir la culture canadienne-française?
3. Quels sont les avantages (désavantages) du bilinguisme?
4. Crois-tu qu'une langue peut être supérieure à une autre?
5. Est-ce qu'il ne serait pas souhaitable pour le Canada que tout le monde parle la même langue? Si oui, laquelle? Pourquoi?
6. Pourquoi est-ce important de maintenir et de recréer la culture canadienne-française?

Faits et généralisations:
Aujourd'hui, le statut bilingue du Canada reconnaît les droits des deux cultures fondatrices du Canada.
Une langue c'est l'expression de la sensibilité d'un peuple, de leur perception du monde et aussi de leur adaptation à ce monde. Elle est donc la représentation symbolique de la culture d'un peuple et d'une société.
Toute culture a créé une langue parfaite qui répond au besoin de communication à l'intérieur de cette culture, donc une langue ne peut pas être meilleure qu'une autre. Il n'existe donc pas de hiérarchie de langues, ni de langues primitives.
Une langue est le véhicule par lequel un peuple maintient, transmet et transforme sa culture.
La création et l'épanouissement de la culture canadienne-française sont dus aux efforts des Canadiens francophones désireux de maintenir, de transmettre et de tranformer la langue française.
La survivance de la culture canadienne-française dépend de l'usage de la langue française telle qu'elle se parle au Canada (Alberta Education, Guide pédagogique des études sociales élémentaire 2^{o} cycle, 1977, pp. 30-31).

Grade 8

Thème organisateur: Le fait français.

Question de valeurs: Que devrait être l'importance de la langue française dans le monde?

Sous-questions de valeurs:
1. Jusqu'à quel point la langue française s'est-elle répandue dans le monde?
2. Jusqu'à quel point la langue française est-elle utilisée dans les relations internationales?
3. Est-ce que tu crois que la politique des langues officielles au Canada est un atout pour le pays?
4. Que devrait-être ta position face au fait français dans le monde? Comment peux-tu défendre la situation bilingue dans ton milieu?

Concepts:
Colonisation: Afrique, Amérique, Antilles, Orient
- Raisons de colonisation (sortes)
- Effets
- Réactions
- Statistiques démographiques
- Marché commun (CEE)
- ONU
- Québec-France

Fondement Légal:
- AANB Section 133
- Acte des L.O. (1968)

Développement
- Laurandeau - Dunton

- Bilinguisme-Biculturalisme

Politique Multiculturelle

Interprétation

- Bill 22
- Section 150 (Alberta)
- Commission Worth
- Situation Albertaine

Retour aux connaissances précédentes (Alberta Education, Guide pédagogique à l'usage des professeurs des études sociales de la 7e, 8e, et 9e année, 1975, pp. 24-25).

Grade 9

Thème organisateur: Le fait français.

Question de valeurs: L'individu minoritaire a le choix de maintenir sa culture. Le groupe majoritaire a le choix de permettre aux groupes minoritaires de maintenir leur propre culture. Si l'on accepte que les groupes ethniques minoritaires ne veulent pas se soumettre aux forces de l'assimilation, par quels moyens peuvent-ils maintenir leur identité?

Sous-questions de valeurs:

1. Comment les différents groupes ethniques minoritaires du Canada se distinguent-ils les uns des autres?
2. Quels sont les causes et les effets des forces assimilatrices sur
   a) les franco-albertains
   b) les autres groupes minoritaires?
3. Est-il nécessaire de s'opposer aux forces assimilatrices?
4. Comment un groupe minoritaire peut-il maintenir son identité à l'intérieur de la société canadienne, et plus spécifiquement de la société albertaine?

Concepts:

Contexte historique

- groupes autochtones
- groupes fondateurs
- immigration (multiculturalisme)
- langues officielles

Contexte démographique:

- définition: groupe ethnique; groupe majoritaire, groupe minoritaire,
- répartition des ethnies au Canada

Causes -

- l'arrivée des Européens: le régime français, le régime anglais
- l'immigration
- les contrôles économiques
- l'urbanisation
- laicisation
- le développement de certains groupes

Effets -

- perte de l'identité culturelle et l'anomalie
- aliénation, intégration et assimilation

historique de l'éthnie de membres de la classe
- prise de conscience de son identité

Institutions et Organisations:
- fédérales
- provinciales
- locales (pp. 38-39).

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH FACT

> If the future of mankind in a unified world is going to be on the whole a happy one, then I would prophesy that there is a future in the Old World for the Chinese, and in the island of North America for the Canadiens. Whatever the future of mankind in North America, I feel pretty confident that these French-speaking Canadians, at any rate, will be there at the end of the story.
>
> --Arnold J. Toynbee, "Civilization on Trial."

This Chapter inquires into the philosophical problem: "What can young Franco-Albertans become?" Answers are sought in this Chapter by inquiring into the various meanings and interpretations of The French Fact as used by historians and social commentators. The concepts of power and of lack of power in a culture have been used as an analytical theme for making use of alternative formulations of meaning of The French Fact. The meanings and alternative formulations of The French Fact have been organized in this Chapter for the purpose of clarification as follows:

(1) How our early conceptions of The French Fact have been formed - the Conquest and its introduction of an alternative and competing symbolic universe in French society in North America.

(2) The development of an identification of The French Fact with clericalism - the 1850's to the early 1900's in French-Canadian society.

(3) The evolution of the concept of The French Fact in Quebec society and the creation of a modern, viable and dynamic French culture.

(4) The concept of The French Fact outside of Quebec - myth or

reality? This section focuses on the impossibility of creating a viable and dynamic French culture outside of Quebec.

In the final part of this Chapter the basic philosophical problem: "What can the young Franco-Albertan become?" was examined in the light of the findings of the various meanings of The French Fact.

Conceptualizations by historians and social commentators of the term The French Fact originated in the late 1950's with Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" and gained momentum when the Parti Québécois under the leadership of René Lévesque came into power on November 15, 1976. Historians and social commentators, concerned that French-Canadians in Quebec were no longer arguing with their English partner in Confederation on how they were going to live together but rather if they were going to live together, have used the term The French Fact from different perspectives in an attempt to make sense out of a political, economic or social state of affairs which they believed could have an effect on the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians either in Quebec or outside of Quebec.

PART I. THE CONQUEST AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The Conquest of 1760 and its implications for the French-Canadian's cultural and linguistic survival can best be understood through social theories. Sociologists of knowledge theorize that when two societies having a greatly different history which represents an alternative symbolic universe encounter each other this encounter poses a threat to either society because the very existence of another society demonstrates empirically that one's own universe if less than inevitable. Confrontations between two societies imply a problem of power - which of the conflicting definitions of reality will be made to stick? Berger

and Luckmann theorize tnat for two societies to maintain their respective universes each society develops and legitimizes conceptual machineries which may become attached to a concrete power interest. What happens, they explain, is that in order to maintain their power a particular group may create an ideology as ideologies generate solidarity (1967, pp. 108-123).

A. CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH SOCIETIES

Historically, two societies originating from Western European countries - France and the British Isles - settled in North America bringing with them what Berry and Wilde refer to as "an invisible baggage of incalculable import - the baggage of language, religion, tradition, individual hopes and fears, capacities and limitations" (1972, p. x). Shortly after the Conquest of 1760 several Acts came into effect which demonstrated the recognition by the British of the existence of a separate French-speaking society in North America. The Treaty of Paris of 1763, the Quebec Act of 1774, and the Act of Constitution of 1791 either directly or indirectly legally guaranteed to French-speaking Canadians the right to their language, their culture, their religion and their civil laws. Further, the creation of Lower Canada and Upper Canada indicated the British's recognition of the existence of a separate French culture and society. However, as the British population increased in Upper Canada, the French-Canadian population in Lower Canada became threatened with cultural and linguistic assimilation. This threat was exemplified in the Union Act of 1840 which joined Upper Canada and Lower Canada rendering French-Canadians a minority in the United Province of Canada.

The French-Canadians were dissatisfied with the British government's new political and economic move to join Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Lafontaine, a French-Canadian politician, expressed the prevailing mood of his times when he condemned the Union of the two provinces and called it an act of injustice and despotism which had been imposed upon the French-Canadians without their consent. The Act, he demonstrated, went as far as depriving French Canadians of the use of their language in the proceedings of the legislature which was against the spirit of the treaties and the word of the governor-general. Lafontaine further criticized the Union Act as follows:

> It makes us pay, without our consent, a debt that we have not contracted; in that it permits the executive power to seize illegally under the name of a civil list, and without the vote of the representatives of the people, an enormous part of the revenues of the country (Wade, Vol. I, 1968, pp. 230-231).

Underlying the Union Act of 1840 were deeper philosophical meanings.

The Durham Report which was made public in 1839, a year before the Union Act of 1840, had called for the assimilation of French-speaking Canadians. Underlying Durham's Report were assumptions and beliefs which appear to be based on an Enlightment doctrine of "perfectibility" based on stages of progress with underlying currents of racism - a perfect rationalization for maintaining the status quo of a conqueror. Lord Durham rationalized his position calling for the assimilation of French Canadians on the premise that he aimed to elevate French-Canadians from their condition of inferiority by making them English. Otherwise, Durham explained in his report, if French-Canadians remained stationary the greater part of them would be labourers in the employ of English capitalists. Durham reasoned:

> In either case it would appear, that the great mass of French Canadians are doomed, in some measure, to occupy an inferior position, and be dependent upon the English for employment. The evils of poverty and dependence would merely be aggravated in a ten-fold degree, by a spirit of jealous and resentful nationality, which would separate the working classes of the community from the possessors of wealth and employers of labour (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 211).

Threatened with cultural and linguistic assimilation, French-Canadians preoccupied themselves with the survival of their community, interweaving and subordinating nearly every other intellectual pursuit - philosophical, religious, literary, historical, social, economic and political - with the national question (Cook, 1971, p. 14). In an effort to maintain their respective symbolic universe from English domination, French-Canadian historians such as François Xavier Garneau (1809-1866) set the groundwork for the creation of future definitions of French-Canadian reality.

B. EARLY DEFINITIONS OF FRENCH-CANADIAN REALITY

Garneau, a French-Canadian poet haunted by two phrases in Durham's Report: (1) "A Conquered people." (2) "They are a people with no history and no literature." (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 212), set out to write the first comprehensive history of Canada Histoire du Canada. In his history of the French-Canadians, Garneau glorified the vanquished past of the French 'race' and sung of their exploits in order to rehabilitate his people and to reassure them of the inevitability of their future as a 'race' in North America (Lauzière, 1961, pp. 47-53). de Gaspé, in Les Anciens Canadiens, (1864) praised Garneau's efforts to restore French-Canadian memories of their glorious past. These memories, de Gaspé believed, gave French-Canadians a sense of a collective

identity. de Gaspé wrote:

> Vous avez été longtemps méconnus, mes anciens frères du Canada! Vous avez été indignement calomniés. Honneur à ceux qui ont réhabilité votre mémoire! Honneur, cent fois honneur à notre compatriote, M. Garneau, qui a déchiré le voile qui couvrait vos exploits (1970, p. 162)!

In his own way, de Gaspé went beyond the glorification of the French-Canadian's past in his literature. He incited French-Canadians to continue the battle which began in 1760 and which continued in the tribunals and law courts of the land demonstrating that the French-Canadians were not, as Durham had earlier written, inferior to any race. In the following passage de Gaspé called for the unification of the French-Canadians for the purpose of carrying out common societal-cultural goals.

> A la tribune, au barreau, sur les champs de bataille partout sur son petit théâtre le Canadien a su prouver qu'il n'était inférieur a aucune race. Vous avez lutté pendant un siècle, ô mes compatriotes! pour maintenir votre nationalité, et grâce à votre persévérance, elle est encore intacte; mais l'avenir vous réserve peut être un autre siècle de luttes et de combats pour la conserver. Courage et union, mes compatriotes (p. 196)!

Faced with conflicting definitions of reality, Garneau and de Gaspé set about to explain and to justify the French-Canadian's struggle for cultural and linguistic survival. According to social theory, "Legitimation not only tells the individual why he should perform one action and not another; it also tells him why things are what they are" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p. 94). Garneau and de Gaspé had provided a body of knowledge about French-Canadian reality which eventually became legitimized in French-Canadian institutions.

According to Cook, historians in French Canada have always played a very special role. Not only, he explained, have they been mere keepers of the records of the past, but French-Canadian historians

have written the French-Canadian's story with the intention of convincing their people that, having survived in the past, they must continue the struggle in the present in order to guarantee their survival in the future. The French-Canadian's story, Cook writes, "has been that of the survival of a small people struggling against heavy odds" (1977, pp. 96-97). French-Canadian historians have therefore provided the framework for the early conceptualization of the term The French Fact and history has provided the legitimizers of The French Fact with meanings. Bruchési wrote, in 1957, that The French Fact is neither a mere symbol, nor a myth, nor an illusion; but, rather The French Fact is four centuries of history, of blood and sweat of which millions of French-Canadians were its artisans, while millions of others today are its witness.

> Ce fait français repose en premier lieu sur la terre et sur les morts . . . . Nos morts, ce sont les fils de France qui l'abordèrent, la parcoururent en tous sens, l'imprégnèrent de leur sang ou de leur sueur, plus ou moins conscients d'y reproduire les traits authentiques du visage maternel; et ce sont les fils de ces fils en qui les vivants d'aujourd'hui se reconnaissent encore, si profonde qu'ait pu être, au détriment de la ressemblance, l'action du temps et des évènements (pp. 403-404).

Bruchési's stance that The French Fact is four centuries of history may be correct; but, in the early development of an identification of The French Fact, the meaning of The French Fact has been masked with symbols, myths and illusions attached to a concrete power interest who wished to maintain its privileges as an elite class not only in French-Canadian society but also in its dealings with the English-Canadian society. This power group was basically made up of French-Canadian church leaders who, according to Porter, have worked with the British and the federal and provincial political leaders to create the

kind of society that Quebec is. "French church leaders also have played a crucial role in the exercise of power. Nowhere else in Canada has the church had such control and supervision of social life" (1971, p. 92).

PART II. AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE FRENCH FACT WITH CLERICALISM

From the 1850's to the 1900's, French-Canadian history became attached to the power interests of the Roman Catholic Church. Garneau's Histoire du Canada (1845) came to be looked upon rather suspiciously because of the historian's detachment on religious questions. Catholicism was second to Frenchness in Garneau's scale of French-Canadian values. In order to rectify Garneau's interpretation of French-Canadian history, his successors, especially clerical ones, accepted Garneau's central theme but they recast some of the actors - especially the clerical ones. Clerical historians such as l'abbé J.-P.-A. Ferland took pains to insist that from its origins, New France had been guided in its struggle for survival by the Church (Cook, 1977, p. 102). By combining the question of "la survivance" with concepts such as 'la race' and 'la nation' the clergy took on the leadership for carrying out a struggle which was not only spiritual, but also political. The implication of the notion of The French Fact based on the French spirit (génie français) which may have been important for those who promoted the diffusion of the French culture was that the notion of The French Fact only served to create a gap between the culture acquired and what was actually taking place on the North American continent. With growing urbanization and industrialization, the clergy, in order to maintain their dominant position in French-Canadian society, resorted to all sorts of romantic notions, myths, ideals and ideologies

distorting and concealing the meaning of the changes taking place in North American society from French-Canadians.

A. THE CLERGY AS A POWER ELITE IN FRENCH-CANADIAN SOCIETY

Henri Bourassa (1866-1952) a French-Canadian politician, in a speech delivered on April 27, 1902, reasoned while reflecting upon the French-Canadian's past that if there were a ruling class in French Canada, it certainly was that of the clergy. He stated,

> We have allowed our viewpoint to be permeated by such a curious pettiness that it has become nearly impossible to talk about the French-Canadian clergy, its history, and its social role, without being charged either with toadyism or sacrilegious insolence (1971, p. 126).

The influence of the Catholic hierarchy in French-Canadian life, especially in the area of politics, has been well documented by Wade in The French-Canadians, 1760-1967. According to Wade, the endless bickering within the Church in Canada "gave Rome more trouble than the rest of Christendom combined" (1968, Vol. I, p. 370). French Canada was the battleground for a 'Holy War' between ultramontanism and liberalism (pp. 370-372). The complexity of the 'Holy War' in French Canada and the issues underlying the two schools of thought resulted in open religio-political conflicts between Montreal and Quebec, and between Conservatives and Liberals.

Members of the Catholic hierarchy, who were generally associated with Conservatism, would sometimes go as far as intervening in the elections, threatening the Liberal Party with extinction in Quebec (p. 360). Wade has outlined in his book that it was not uncommon in French Canada for some members of the clergy to tell their congregation "that a Liberal vote involved mortal sin" (p. 360). For example, in

the case of the election in Bonaventure in the 1870's which was brought to the Superior Court of Quebec, two curés had been accused for threatening to refuse the sacraments to Liberal voters (p. 368). In the provincial election of May 1878 in Quebec, the memorable device was invented by the Catholic clergy "for indicating discreetly from the pulpit the right way to vote by the observation that heaven was Bleu and Hell was Rouge" (p. 370). The supporters of political liberalism (the Rouges) opposed the temporal power of the Church and openly advanced the doctrine of the Separation of Church and State (p. 350).

From the historical evidence available, there are indications that the Roman Catholic clergy, who were spiritual leaders only under the French Régime, became politically influential in the years following the Conquest. According to Eccles, under the French Régime the role of the clergy in secular affairs was minimal. For example, in 1728 the Intendant Dupuy declared: "The Church is in the state and not the state in the Church." This position was drastically reversed in the years following the Conquest. By 1875 the Quebec episcopate in a pastoral letter declared: "It is not the Church that is comprised in the state, it is the state that is comprised in the Church" (1968, p. 67).

The Article of Capitulation XXVII dated at Montreal, September 8, 1760 may have been one of the factors underlying the power of the Church in French-Canadian society in the years following the Conquest. Under Article XXVII the British officially recognized the Roman Catholic religion as being the religion of French-Canadians. Further, the Article specified the French-Canadians' obligation to pay tithes

and taxes to the Church.

> These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay their Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his most Christian Majesty (MacKirdy et al., 1967, pp. 47-48).

On June 4, 1763, Jean-Oliver Briand, Vicar General of the district of Quebec in a "Mandement pour faire chanter un Te Deum en action de grâce pour le bienfait de la paix" publicly told French-Canadians to

> Punctually perform the duties of subjects who are loyal and devoted to their prince. . . . By betraying the trust of your legitimate sovereign you would not only incur his wrath, lose his protection, and forfeit all the privileges he has been good enough to grant you, but you would also be guilty in the eyes of God. Twice guilty, since you would expose yourselves to being deprived of the right granted at the peace treaty to practice our holy religion, the only true faith. Consider carefully, then, dear brethren, how important it is for you to be loyal and submissive and how nothing can dispense you from a perfect obedience, a scrupulous and punctual fidelity, an inviolable and sincere attachment to our new monarch and to the interests of the nation to which we have just been united (MacKirdy et al., pp. 50-52).

Historians such as MacKirdy, Moir and Zoltvany have interpreted Msgr. Briand's public declaration and the actions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy after the Conquest as follows:

> The Catholic hierarchy soon decided that the wisest policy in these difficult circumstances was one of loyal co-operation with the new masters of Canada. Any other course of action might expose it to being deprived of the powers and privileges necessary for its future functioning (p. 50).

B. CLERICAL IDEOLOGIES AND MYTHS UNDERLYING THE FRENCH FACT

With advancing technology and growing industrialization the clergy, in order to maintain its status position in French-Canadian society, needed the support of the masses. With a control over educational and social institutions, they managed to combine Western humanism, Catholicism and elitism in conjunction with the fight against

assimilation by Anglophone, materialist North America (Lamontagne, 1977, pp. 149-150). Bonenfant and Falardeau, in an analysis of early forms of French-Canadian nationalism, have documented the clergy's influence in French-Canadian patriotic and nationalist movements. These authors found that:

> Given the direct influence of the clergy over the rural population and the appeal of the nationalist political campaigns, the country became more than ever, consciously exalted by ambivalent patriotic symbols (1971, p. 30).

Pitted against "English, Protestant, democratic, materialistic, business-minded, and later industrial environment" French-Canadian nationalism made "a cult of the French language, Catholicism, authoritarianism, idealism, the rural way of life, including later, the myth of a return to the land" (Trudeau, 1971, p. 33). Faced with competing pluralistic situations on the North American continent which were rapidly changing the social position of the traditional definitions of French-Canadian reality, the clergy perpetuated the ideal of clinging firmly to the values of the past--to the mystique of what Professor Brunet has identified as "ruralism, anti-statism and messianism" (1977, pp. 97-98).

According to Mannheim's social theory, ideological distortions will be used in a society as a means of trying to resolve conflicts and anxieties brought about by change. Mannheim theorized that members of a society or groups in a society will try to resolve conflicts and anxieties by having recourse to "absolutes" according to which it is no longer possible to live (1936, p. 93). In French-Canadian society, for example, the clergy perpetuated the idea of the 'superiority' of the French culture and classical education. The clergy would tell French-Canadians that, because of their intellectual and moral qualities,

French-Canadians provided English North America with "enriching spiritual elements" (Lamontagne, 1977, pp. 149-150). While French-Canadians were being told by the clergy that they provided North America with enriching spiritual elements, the French-Canadians' economic position in North America was weakening. According to Durocher and Linteau, 1971, pp. 7-23; Faucher and Lamontagne, 1971, pp. 25-42; Tremblay, 1971, pp. 75-92; Harvey, 1971, pp. 113-127, the myth of the rural life actually hindered the French-Canadians' economic growth.

The idea of the French-Canadian's intellectual and moral 'superiority' was conceptualized into an ideology which promoted the notion of the French-Canadian's "Providential Mission." As explained by Wade, Bishop Laflèche added to the ancient battles of the Church against paganism, Arianism, Protestantism, and Voltaireanism, the contemporary struggle against rationalistic liberalism, born of the principles of Voltaire and Rousseau and of the French Revolution. Further, Bishop Laflèche drew a black and white opposition between liberalism and Catholicism, and called upon French Canada to fulfill its Providential Mission of maintaining and spreading the Kingdom of God in the New World by avoiding all contamination from liberalism (1968, Vol. I, p. 340). From this frame of reference, an examination of statements made by Msgr. Laflèche in a discourse given in 1866 on "The Providential Mission of the French Canadians," Msgr. Laflèche advised French Canadians that the goal which Providence had set for them was none other than to establish a deeply Catholic nation on the land they were granted as their heritage.

> As for us French Canadians, whom Catholic teachings have made the fortunate possessors of all-encompassing truth, let us strengthen our faith in the great consolation of our holy religion's dogma, with its reassuring presages as to our

> national future. So long as we remain faithful to the mission entrusted to our forebears, so long as we continue steadily, straight toward the goals assigned us by Providence, we shall have nothing to fear. No power, no human devices will ever succeed in checking our progress or prevent us from fulfilling our destiny here as a people (1971, p. 98).

With growing industrialization, some members of the Catholic hierarchy insisted that French-Canadians should be careful to not let wealth affect their social behaviour. Msgr. Pâquet in an address delivered near the Champlain monument on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec on June 23, 1902, insisted that French-Canadians must leave to other nations less inspired with the ideal what he considered to be feverish mercantilism and vulgar bestiality. He warned French-Canadians that they should not "step down from the pedestal" where God had placed them "to walk commonly among those generations who thirst for gold and pleasure" (1971, p. 158). The following passage from his address captures the tone and feeling underlying the ideology of the French-Canadian's "Providential Mission" and the economic limitations which it placed upon French-Canadians.

> Yes, let us not forget, we are not only a civilized race, we are pioneers of a civilization, we are not only a religious people, we are messengers of the spirit of religion; we are not only dutiful sons of the Church, we are, or we should be, numbered among its zealots, its defenders, and its apostles. Our mission is less to handle capital than to stimulate ideas; less to light the furnaces of factories than to maintain and spread the glowing fires of religion and thought, and to help them cast their light into the distance (1971, pp. 154-158).

C. IMPLICATIONS OF CLERICALISM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH FACT

The development of an identification of The French Fact with clericalism limited French-Canadians from determining their own societal-cultural goals. The power of the Church in French-Canadian

society from the 1850's to the 1900's is reflected in the general nature of the British North America Act of 1867, especially as the Act relates to education. Under Section 93, Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Act, provisions have been made for Denominational Schools, but the linguistic aspect of education has been neglected in the Act. The Act states that,

> In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:-
> 1. Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:
> 2. All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec:
> 3. Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education (The British North America Act, 1867, in Lederman, 1967, pp. 16-17).

Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act clearly demonstrates the greater value placed on religion instead of on language by both English and French-speaking Canadians at that time. The Act also shows that as a power group in French-Canadian society the clergy were able to work with political leaders at the provincial and federal level in order to guarantee the institutional survival of Catholicism. As explained by Msgr. Felix-Antoine Savard, in the past the French language was conceived as being the French-Canadians' greatest treasure after religion (1978, p. G14). With social changes taking place in French-Canadian society in the 1900's, French-Canadians began to place a greater value on the French language instead of religion.

In the past, the French language was considered by the majority of French-Canadians to be the guardian of the faith "la langue française était la guardienne de la foi" (Savoie, 1973, pp. 7-8). The myth that the French language was the guardian of the faith was challenged by Henri Bourassa in a speech given before the first Congrès de la Langue Française au Canada on June 28, 1912 when he stated:

> Due to the simplicity of our minds and hearts in this 'medieval' province, we have held on to the Catholic faith as it was taught long ago, and we believe that in all the dealings of the Church, the first guiding steps must be taken by those in whom we see the authority that was invested in the apostles by Jesus Christ and passed on by them to the bishops and clergy of the succeeding centuries - whereas the language is our own possession: and if we do not defend it, no one will save it for us (1971, p. 140).

While the clergy were preoccupied legitimizing in Catholic educational and social institutions "la survivance" ideologies founded in Other-World-of-God philosophies, some French-Canadian politicians, from a more critical and pragmatic stance, were seeking alternatives and solutions to some of the more pressing political, economic and social problems in Quebec society. These French-Canadian politicians had an interest in striving toward more materialistic goals than messianic goals.

PART III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH FACT IN QUEBEC SOCIETY

The power of culture and its submerged or hidden aspects which are made up of what Zais calls "an interlocking fabric of ideas, ideals, beliefs, values, assumptions and modes of thought" (1976, p. 157) served as an invisible controlling force in unifying French-Canadians for several centuries. Even though the early development of an identification of <u>The French Fact</u> can be traced back to clericalism,

pluralistic thought has always existed in French-Canadian society. Cook, after analyzing French-Canadian nationalism over the years, reached the conclusion that there has never been full agreement between French-Canadians about the character of French Canada's uniqueness. Therefore, disagreement about the French-Canadian's mission created controversies at every stage of French Canada's development (1971, p. 14). Evolving pluralistic thought in French-Canadian society when combined with growing technology, industrialization and urbanization resulted in social changes in Quebec society. Underlying institutional reforms which took place in Quebec society during the 1960's are actually ideas, ideals, beliefs, values, assumptions and modes of thought which can be traced back to early forms of French-Canadian nationalism. At first nationalism in French Canada was more a question of holding on, preserving and defending. In its later stages, nationalism took the form of inventing, creating, and giving to the nation a state and institutions that really suited it (Jean-Marc Léger, 1971, p. 306).

In its early stages nationalist ideology in French Canada, because of its ties with the Church, tended to acquire a strong propensity for social, political and economic conservatism (Ouellet, 1971, p. 57; Harvey, 1971, pp. 119-120). In a sociological analysis of French-Canadian nationalism over the years, Bonenfant and Falardeau found that the dialectical phases of these nationalistic movements can be characterized under the three following headings: (1) the preliminary growing of defensive nationalism with Papineau, followed by the crystallization of constitutional nationalism under the Union régime; (2) the rebound of nationalism on the racial level during

the Mercier episode, around 1885; finally, (3) the 'Canadian' anti-imperialist nationalism of Bourassa, at the beginning of this century till the end of the First World War (1971, p. 19).

A. DEFENSIVE NATIONALISM - THE ROOTS OF SEPARATIST THOUGHT

Ouellet explains that, from 1826 onward, French-Canadian nationalism steadily shifted toward more extreme positions. By that time nationalism no longer was limited to the middle class only, but it had seeped through the peasantry who had undergone an agricultural crisis. Further, Ouellet points out, agricultural problems, land shortages, and massive immigration from the British Isles resulted in the development of anxieties in French-Canadian society. Members of the Patriotes' party began to voice a desire to remodel their society entirely (1971, pp. 54-55). Even though Papineau and the Patriotes believed that the future of the nation could only be secured through democratic freedom, they were not content with calling democratic institutions to their aid but rather started clamouring for a very generous measure of autonomy or complete independence within the empire. At first the Patriotic leaders felt they could achieve their goals without having to resort to arms, but "was England likely to accept the establishment of a French-Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence?" (p. 55). The Patriotes were given two choices: "either to back up their claims by a resort to arms, or to give up their contentions" (p. 55). The Patriotes resorted to arms in the autumn of 1837.

The failure of the 1837 Rebellion forced French-Canadian nationalism to relax its rigid position and to settle for certain

compromises it had earlier refused to consider. The foremost political leaders recognized the need to accept certain major reforms "if the imboglio caused by the separatist crisis was to be cleared up" (p. 57). Concessions were made by the government in terms of capital investments in major projects. The St. Lawrence canal is an example of such a project. Between 1851 to 1873 a period of prosperity helped to re-establish some degree of cooperation between French-Canadians and English-Canadians (57). Even though the idea of autonomy and of independence were set in abeyance while Constitutional Nationalism preoccupied the minds of French-Canadians, Papineau and the Patriotes had opened up the minds of French-Canadians to alternatives.

B. CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISM

Constitutional nationalism under the Union Régime which culminated into the Confederation of 1867 reflected the tendency for certain French-Canadian politicians to compromise with English-speaking Canadians in order to expand not only Canada's economy but also to develop a Canadian identity (Ouellet, 1971, p. 57). Coalitions were formed during those years between politicians such as Lafontaine-Baldwin, Macdonald-Cartier, Macdonald-Langevin-Chapleau in order to work toward common goals. Even though the basic motivation underlying Confederation was the English and the French-Canadian's "will to survive" (Brown and Prang, 1966, p. 1) this "will to survive" meant different things to both groups. The English-speaking Canadians, being a majority on the North American Continent, could pursue an economic identity, whereas the French-Canadians had to begin conquering, inch by inch, their linguistic and cultural identity.

Federalism gave Quebec a government of its own--a government over which the French-Canadian majority would have complete control giving them authority over education, religion, and civil law. Another important feature of federalism was that it made French one of the official languages of the country in federal institutions. What seems to have been one of the disadvantages of federalism for French-Canadians living outside of Quebec was that the British North America Act (1867) failed to guarantee their linguistic rights at the provincial levels. Instead the B.N.A. Act guaranteed religious rights (Cook, 1977, p. 71).

C. NATIONALISM TAINTED WITH RACISM

In practice, the newly created federal-democratic system created under the B.N.A. Act of 1867 served English-speaking Canadians quite well. Being a numerical majority English-speakers could use the system to bring about the changes they desired. For example, the Riel affair of 1885 combined with the Manitoba School Question at the turn of the century led to a series of bitter 'racial' conflicts between Quebec French-Canadians who took sides with the French-Canadian minorities in Western Canada and extremist groups of English-speaking Canadians outside Quebec who were anti-French and anti-Catholic. The historical importance of the Riel affair and the Manitoba School Question was a demonstration to French-Canadians that even under a system based on democratic ideals and principles such as liberty, justice, equality, and the dignity of man, they could lose their rights. As a result of these conflicts French-Canadians outside Quebec gradually saw their linguistic rights and

their equality of status eroded and diminished to privileges and permissions, with limitations.

The Riel Rebellion of 1885 was built into a 'racial' symbol stimulating Mercier's nationalist movement in Quebec by the Quebec press and by Quebec politicians. The national movement capitalized on the rebirth of the French-Canadian feeling of solidarity created by the affair. What basically happened was that Mercier, as leader of the national party in Quebec, won the election of 1886 which was to make him for five years a leader and an active symbol of French-Canadian political unity. Mercier's nationalist movement was important to the evolution of The French Fact because it stood up for national causes such as provincial autonomy, the development of agriculture, the protection of French minorities outside of Quebec, the official recognition of the French language, etc. (Bonenfant and Falardeau, 1961, pp. 24-26). The political solidarity which began under Mercier's nationalist movement was strengthened as a result of the Manitoba School Question. Within this setting of 'racial' conflicts Canadians elected Canada's first French-Canadian Prime Minister, Laurier, in 1896.

While Mercier preoccupied himself evoking the deepest currents of national feelings among French-Canadians by proudly reaffirming "We are Catholic and French" and "This province of Quebec is Catholic and French, and it will remain Catholic and French" Laurier sounded a different note:

> We are French Canadians, but our country is not confined to the territory overshadowed by the citadel of Quebec; our country is Canada, it is the whole of what is covered by the British flag on the American continent, the fertile lands bordered by the Bay of Fundy, ... The first place in my heart is for those in whose veins runs the blood of my own

> veins. Yet I do not hesitate to say that the rights of my fellow-countrymen of different origins are as dear to me, as sacred to me, as the rights of my own race, and if it unfortunately happened that they were ever attacked, I would defend them with just as much energy and vigor as the rights of my own race. . . . What I claim for us is an equal share of the sun, of justice, of liberty; we have that share, and have it amply; and what we claim for ourselves we are anxious to grant to others. I do not want French Canadians to domineer over anyone, nor anyone to domineer over them. Equal justice; equal rights . . . . (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, pp. 426-428).

Laurier's political stance represented a turning point in the quasi-religious political forms of thought underlying early forms of French-Canadian nationalism. Trudeau, in his analysis of nationalism in French Canada, identified that at the turn of the century, "authoritarianism lost much of its weight after Laurier was brought to power" (1971, p. 33). Laurier demonstrated that resistance to the intense pressure put upon him by the Catholic hierarchy was possible. He stated, while in government,

> So long as I have a seat in this House, so long as I occupy the position I do now, whenever it shall become my duty to take a stand upon any question whatever, that stand I will take not upon grounds of Roman Catholicism, not upon grounds of Protestantism, but upon grounds which can appeal to the conscience of all men, irrespective of their particular faith, upon grounds which can be occupied by all men who love justice, freedom, and toleration (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 436).

The Riel Rebellion and the Manitoba School Question became issues of national concern which caused a division between English Protestants and French Catholics in Canada. In 1899 the situation was further aggravated when Canada officially decided to participate in the South African Boer War. The Canadian government's decision to participate in the Boer War created strong waves of anti-imperialistic feelings among French-Canadians. The Boer War, from Wade's point of view, "split open the cleft between French and English

Canadians which had been developing since 1867 and created a deep division between them which has lasted until the present day" (1968, Vol. I, p. 447).

D. ANTI-IMPERIALIST NATIONALISM

The cry for the expansion of British territory in Britain came as a result of a challenge from France and Germany. Britain did not wish to lose its place as a great colonial power in the world. Disraeli began the search of the British empire looking for those who sympathized with the mother country. Those who popularized the pan-Anglo-Saxonism of the British empire failed to take into consideration that in Canada, for example, there did not exist only a great English homogeneous people, one in blood, language, religion and laws (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 455) but also a French-Canadian society. Negotiations between Britain and Canada concerning Canada's share in sending Canadian troops to the South African war began to raise anti-French sentiments in Canada as the fundamental French-Canadian attitude taken was: "We French Canadians belong to one country, Canada; Canada is for us the whole world; but the English Canadians have two countries, one here and one across the sea (p. 479). Bourassa, a political leader in Quebec, publicly expressed his concern that Canada would be threatened, as a result of the government's action, with ceaseless wars and unbearable burdens (p. 483). French-Canadians felt that if Canada were going to take part in all Britain's wars, there would have to be a new Constitutional basis (p. 484). Strong waves of British sentiments swept Ontario. Ontario accused Quebec of disloyalty. In Quebec French-Canadians were urged by the Liberals to stand behind a French

and Catholic premier against Ontario fanatics. In the political arena ideas of imperialism and a new French-Canadian nationalism grew.

A small group of French-Canadians under the leadership of Bourassa began to evolve a French-Canadian nationalism in reaction to imperialism. The new French-Canadian nationalist movement reiterated the doctrines of the Canada First movement in French-Canadian terms and developed a political program which centered around the basic themes of integral bilingualism, anti-imperialism, the autonomy of Canada within the Empire and the autonomy of the province of Quebec within Canada, opposition to mass European immigration, and the settlement of the minority school problems (Bonenfant and Falardeau, 1971, p. 28). As Bourassa's new nationalist movement gained momentum, anti-French movements with an interest in making Canada a land of one tongue and one culture only served in fostering a French-Canadian group consciousness of "racial and religious separateness" (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 496). Clifford Sifton's massive immigration policy led the French-Canadians to suspect a plot to swamp them in an English-speaking Canada in which Quebec would have little voice and importance (p. 496).

Bourassa was not only concerned with racial and linguistic problems but also with economic problems. He was worried that Canada was being sold wholesale to American railway magnates and that the government was selling Canada to Great Britain (pp. 498-499).

> He criticized the sales of timber limits as on too great a scale in the first place, and as too often made to speculators who stripped colonization lots of their wood and then abandoned them. He favored a law obliging American lumbermen to convert wood into pulp in Quebec factories. Waterpower rights should be rented rather

than sold (p. 521).

Bourassa's economic concerns took on a more definite form with the younger generation who founded La Ligue Nationaliste in 1903 and who outlined in their program a call for Canada's political, commercial, and economic autonomy (p. 514). With growing industrial development in Quebec, French-Canadian nationalism began to advance economic programs as well as political ones (p. 522).

Vast economic and social problems were arising in Quebec society as a result of growing cities and industrial development. French-Canadian ideologies lagged behind material progress. Groups such as l'Association Catholic de la Jeunesse Canadienne-française were still, in 1904, confusing nationalism with religion. For example, this association was involved in organizing campaigns for the recognition of bilingualism while they simultaneously popularized the hero-worshipping of myth-transformed historical characters like Dollard, and of 'national' defenders or 'martyrs' like Papineau, Riel, etc. The members of this Catholic association generally appealed to public opinion for defensive action against all enemies of the French-Canadians (Bonenfant and Falardeau, 1971, p. 28). Members of l'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse canadienne-française had been formed in Quebec's classical colleges. As the French-Canadian clergy were basically nationalistic, they had a strong influence in the nationalist movements. As a result, Quebec became, more than ever, "consciously exalted by ambivalent patriotic symbols" (p. 30).

E. TRADITION VS. CHANGE IN QUEBEC SOCIETY

Faced with an economic crisis in the 1920's, French-Canadians

in Quebec came to the realization that they were not adjusted to meet the demands of the new capitalistic structures affecting all aspects of French-Canadian life. Anti-imperialistic nationalism was found to be too limited in scope to deal with economic problems. French-Canadians, faced with a trying economic situation, began to rely on the option for independence and separatism (Ouellet, 1971, p. 61). The separatist movement entered a phase of "exceptional vitality" as a result of the atmosphere created by the depression. This movement, as a consequence of a growing improvement of the country's economy in the years that followed, gradually lost its impetus (p. 62). French-Canadians began to support the Union Nationale, a conservative government preoccupied with provincial autonomy. Quinn states that the Union Nationale was determined to maintain "all those traditional values and rights which had always been considered essential for cultural survival" while at the same time the Union Nationale committed itself to raise the economic status of the French-Canadian by bringing about extensive reforms in the system of industrial capitalism (1967, p. 60-61).

Duplessis and his Union Nationale Party held office in Quebec from 1936 to 1939 and again from 1944 to 1960. While in office Duplessis and his government pursued policies which constituted a complete reversal of the programme of reform on which it had originally been elected to office (p. ix). The Quebeckers' expectations that the new political party would destroy the control which the English-speaking industrialists exercised over the economy by enacting comprehensive economic and social reforms were not realized. In Quebec, English-owned manufacturing plants, chain stores, and insurance

companies continued to dominate; French-Canadians continued to occupy the subordinate and the low paying positions in every industry: few could become managers or supervisors; interlocking directorates, holding companies, watered stock, and a control exercised by a minority of stockholders were never curbed through government legislations. Privately owned companies continued to exploit Quebec's natural resources with a minimum of government regulations (p. 77). The social and labour changes anticipated by the people of Quebec such as the elimination of slums, health insurance, a labour code, and other measures to strengthen the workers' economic position never materialized (p. 78).

Duplessis' philosophy was that the well-being of French-Canadians in Quebec was dependent on the exploitation of Quebec's natural resources and the expansion of its manufacturing industry. He believed more in private industrial development than in the public enterprise system (p. 81). While Duplessis strongly encouraged the foreign industrialists who were changing the face of Quebec, he still continued to idealize the rural way of life and "looked upon the farmer as the most stable, industrious, and law-abiding social type, the true French Canadian" (p. 79). The Duplessis government continued to expand the Liberals' back-to-the-land and colonization program. By 1951, the rural population in Quebec had fallen to 33 per cent, but the rural areas still had 55 per cent of the seats in the legislature which meant a continuing "disproportionate influence in politics" (p. 85). During the same year, as a result of the steady industrial growth of the postwar period, there were 260,000 trade unionists in the province constituting approximately 32 per cent of

industrial wage earners (p. 87). The industrial wage earners' needs were not the same as the needs of French-Canadians living in Quebec's rural areas. Duplessis and his government were not meeting the needs of an every growing industrialized population.

The wage-earners turned to their trade unions for assistance. Greater militancy accompanied the rapidly increasing importance of the trade union movements in Quebec. Some of the unions in Quebec were pressing for the radical reform of the structure of private industry so that the workers, through their unions, would become partners in the enterprise with all the rights and privileges such a partnership involved (p. 89). The rapidly growing trade union movements in Quebec affected the province's industrialists. No longer could these industrialists depend on a plentiful supply of cheap and docile labour. The French-Canadian workers were demanding wage increases, fringe benefits and they were threatening to strike if their demands were not met. Duplessis and his government looked upon these trade unions as a form of social disorder which would undermine the proper functioning of the system of private enterprise by impairing profits (p. 90). The Asbestos strike of 1949 which turned into a "veritable reign of "terror" is a good example of the kinds of actions undertaken by a government whose political philosophies were not representative of the French-Canadian population's needs in a changing society.

The Duplessis era represented a conflict between tradition and change in Quebec society. Duplessis and his government's actions are representative of what takes place in a society when members of that society are trying to cling to traditional ways and values while at the same time aspire to obtain the rewards of economic development.

Caught between tradition and change, the Duplessis government had not been able to reconcile cultural pluralism with political unity and internal order. The rigorous assertion of The French Fact in the 1960's which shocked many Canadians for whom Quebec had long remained a "terra incognita" was but an outcome of a small nation's attempt to resolve some of its economic and social problems in a modern world which had been germinating under the Duplessis régime.

F. CANADIAN DUALITY

Quebec as a "terra incognita"

Quebec remained a "terra incognita" to the majority of English-speaking Canadians for many years (Ferguson, 1960, p. 9). Many Canadians, like the historian Morton, believed that one of the blessings of Canadian life was that there was no Canadian way of life, much less two "but a unity under the Crown admitting of a thousand diversities" (1968, p. 111). Lower, in his interpretations of Canada's past viewed our former allegiances in Canada as being relatively simple: "King and country" for the English, and "memory and traditions" for the French. In a comparison between the English-Canadian's past and the French-Canadian's past with that of the present, Lower draws attention to the fact that today, the old meaning of the term "allegiance" has been changed for English-Canadians and no new satisfactory meaning has yet developed. Whereas the French, he finds, know where their hearts are,

> Are English Canadians "loyal" to the Crown, to "the government," to their race and language, to their country? What are they loyal to? In other words, where are their hearts? Who can answer? French Canadians know where their hearts are--simply put, their hearts are in such words as "nous autres" and "la race" (1972, p. xiii).

The Recognition of Dualism in Canadian Society

Canadian scholars from both French and English-speaking Canadian society came to the conclusion during the late 1950's that the dominant fact of Canadian life was "the coexistence of two major cultural groups, the French and the English-speaking social universes" (Wade, 1960, p. xiii). Canadian dualism, even though it may have been recognized by certain Canadian historians and social commentators, did not dramatically affect Canadian society until after the death of Duplessis in 1959.

After the death of Duplessis, many Canadians thought that "an iron clamp had suddenly been released from French Canadian society" (Careless, 1963, p. 431). English-Canadians across the country began to question in voices that were sometimes angry, bewildered, or simply impatient: "What do French Canadians want?" (MacKirdy et al., 1967, p. 343). To many thoughtful and sober Canadians a new wave of nationalism in Quebec politics caused them to question,

> Whether the national fabric could withstand the strains imposed by the more rigorous assertion of "the French Fact" and of English speaking Canada's backlash to it (p. 368).

Fox cautioned English-speaking Canadians by stressing that it would be a mistake for them to dismiss the current song of protest (separatism) as one more turn on the same old gramophone record as, he explained, "It is the old refrain, but something new has been added also--a modern, accelerated tempo" (1970, p. 49).

G. A RIGOROUS ASSERTION OF THE FRENCH FACT - THE 1960'S IN QUEBEC

The rigorous assertion of The French Fact during the 1960's has been labelled in Canadian society as Quebec's "Quiet Revolution."

In 1970 Robert Bourassa declared that Quebec society no longer had anything in common with past traditional society. From his point of view, Quebec society had become a pluralistic and an open-minded society which was seeking practical solutions to concrete problems (1970, p. 119).

From Rioux' perspective, the 1960's was a period when Quebec stopped looking upon itself as a culture, i.e., an ethnic group with a language, a religion, and a set of values different from the other groups in Canada and began to see itself as an industrial society of the twentieth century. Quebeckers no longer looked to the past for the Golden Age but rather, as in other industrial societies, they looked to the future (1971, p. 78). Rioux further explained,

> The Quiet Revolution was more a mental liberation, a development of critical attitudes towards men and affairs than it was revolutionary action per se. It was, above all, a reevaluation of ourselves, a reappearance of a spirit of independence and of enquiry which had been smothered in the snows of the hundred-year winter. Quebeckers grew confident that they could change many things if they really wanted to. They began to shrug off the fatalism of a conquered minority who had come to think that they were born to lose, that they were far from having the capacities of a Papineau (p. 76).

Rioux emphasized that in the past, French-Canadian society had been repressed by the domination of the French metropolis, the British, the Americans, Jansenism and religious rigidity, but, during the 1960's the people of Quebec were just beginning to understand that the road to independence would be strewn with ever greater difficulties (p. 73). "An old and obstinate race, they know that if they want freedom, they must take it" (p. 182).

Options for Quebec

Morton, in The Canadian Identity, took the position that

Canadian society had steadily become a society of social equals. He viewed the national government of Canada as guaranteeing "peace, order, and good government." Under good government he felt that life, liberty and happiness could be achieved "by each according to his taste" (1968, p. 111). Morton's assumptions and beliefs were not shared by all Canadians, especially in Quebec society where new political notions such as autonomy, independence and separatism had emerged. Chaput wrote in 1961 that French-Canadians had two options: Remain a minority in a large country, or become a majority in a smaller country (1961, pp. 141-144). As a majority in Quebec, what did Quebeckers want?

Quebeckers' Economic Needs

Parenteau, a political scientist, perceived the relationship between French-Canadians and English-Canadians as being that of "subordinate-superior" and wanted changes made to rectify this situation, especially in the economic sphere (1957, p, 427). According to Bouthillette Quebeckers wanted more than "des miettes" (crumbs) from the economic system which he identified as being at the source of Quebec's decaying political and cultural structures (1972, pp. 26-31). From a more extremist stance, Vallières called the French-Canadians the white slaves of America. He viewed them as being economically exploited and treated as second rate citizens. Vallières urged the collectivity to liberate itself from the socio-economic structures which had caused their enslavement (1969, p. 401). French-Canadians, Vallières advised, had been the abundance of "cheap labor," manipulated first by the clergy and later by the small French-Canadian bourgeoisie (pp. 45-81).

Quebeckers' Social Needs

The Duplessis government had failed to meet the social needs of an ever growing industrialized and urbanized French-Canadian population. In the 1950's while Duplessis and his Union Nationale Party were still in power there had been a gradual development of strong opposition to the Union Nationale's economic and religious policies. The major opposition to the Union Nationale's policies came from small influential groups of radical nationalists; the greater part of the trade union movement; from important sections of the Roman Catholic Church, and from two minor political movements such as the Union des Electeurs and La Ligue d'Action Civique (Quinn, 1967, pp. 152-153). The new school of nationalist thought which was growing in Quebec society called for a new nationalist ideology which would place an emphasis on the social question. The adherents of these developing movements called themselves "social nationalists" or sometimes "independent nationalists." According to Quinn this new group stressed that,

> The French Canadians must regain control over the wealth and natural resources of their province, and raise their incomes and standards of living through the introduction of economic and social reforms. In the words of René Chaloult, "L'indépendance politique est une utopie sans l'indépendance économique" (pp. 155-156).

The Quebeckers' social needs were an outgrowth of Quebec's economic problems.

The Bloc Populaire, formed by a group of radical nationalists in 1942, pursued policies calling for economic and social reforms. The Bloc Populaire's programme stressed,

> The importance of destroying "la dictature économique" resulting from the control exercised over the wealth and natural resources of the province by foreign capital. This was to be accomplished mainly through extensive government

> regulation of the larger industrial enterprises, the development of the co-operative movement, and strong encouragement and assistance from the government for small-scale French-Canadian business enterprises. Certain trusts, such as the electric power, gas, and telephone companies, would be nationalized. Special attention would be given to the rural sector of the economy. The government would expand its colonization programme, extend rural electrification, and provide more adequate credit facilities for farmers. The Bloc Populaire further advocated the introduction of family allowances, action to eliminate slums, and the enactment of labour legislation which would strengthen the economic position of the industrial worker (pp. 153-154).

Even though the Bloc Populaire disintegrated as a result of internal dissensions and internal problems, its supporters and their ideas influenced other organizations and political movements opposed to the Union Nationale.

In the 1950's the Catholic hierarchy developed a new orientation in social thinking which was more sympathetic to the grievances and demands of the working class (p. 162). A pastoral letter issued by the bishops in 1950 entitled, Le problème ouvrier en regard de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise demonstrated the Church's changing attitude. The basic theme of the pastoral letter indicated the Church's concern that the wealth and resources of the province were still far from being equitably distributed and that large numbers of workers lacked economic security and proper housing conditions (p. 163). The Church proposed various measures to remedy the situation such as:

> The payment of "a just wage" by industry; better hygienic conditions in factories; more effective legislation to protect the stability and economic security of the family; the promotion of co-operatives of various kinds . . . , the recognition that the workers had not only the right, but actually the duty to organize into trade unions for the purpose of bargaining collectively with their employers and thus raising their economic status . . . and the most radical aspect of the pastoral letter, was the official sanction which it gave to the demands of the Catholic unions that the structure of private enterprise be gradually reformed so that

> the workers would participate in the management, profits, and ownership of the industry in which they worked (pp. 163-164).

The clergy's challenge of government policies affected French-Canadian thought. During the 1950's, the nostalgia for the old rural society, and the notion of 'a return to the land' which had formed the basis of earlier nationalist ideologies, disappeared from the new evolving forms of nationalism in Quebec society.

Minor movements such as the Union des Electeurs, a form of Social Credit Movement, and La Ligue d'Action Civique which came into being during the 1950's, served more as pressure groups than as political parties. The only political force which was well organized, had political experience and financial backing, and who could challenge the Union Nationale party, was that of the Liberal party. Jean Lesage, the new Liberal leader chosen in 1958, managed with the assistance of René Lévesque (now Premier of Quebec) to unify the widespread opposition to the Duplessis régime under the campaign cry of 'It's time for a change.' René Lévesque, a radio and television commentator with international experience "represented the view of the progressive intellectuals and knew how to appeal effectively to the discontented urban workers" (Wade, 1968, Vol. II, p. 1108).

Institutional Reforms in Quebec Society

After the death of Duplessis in 1959, the Liberal party, in the 1960 election, defeated the Union Nationale. Under the Lesage government, Quebec's institutions were reformed. The Liberals' program of reform and development,

> Augmented the activities of the Quebec government, carved out a large new public sector in the economy, accelerated the exploitation of provincial natural resources, encouraged new

> industries under French-Canadian control, increased and diversified employment, established hospital insurance and welfare services, made remarkable strives in promoting educational reform, and generally quickened the rhythms of social change (Brady, 1970, p. 25).

Provincial leaders were optimistic and confident that in their own provincial stronghold the French-speaking people would cast off their economic backwardness, rehabilitate their community, and assert their own distinctness as a people in control of their destiny (p. 26).

Jean-Marc Léger, reflecting upon the changes taking place in Quebec society during the 1960's, found French-Canadians to be the same men with the same objectives and concerns, but what he found had changed was their perspective;

> They have again found a homeland, a homeland at the same time of the spirit and of the flesh, by rediscovering the true sense of the word 'national'. They have discovered that authentic nationalism is humanism, and that the nationalism of a colonized people can only be progressive, intensely concerned with reform, and, in some respects, revolutionary (1971, p. 308).

Nationalism during the 1960's had returned to defining the ways and means necessary for the advancement of the French-Canadian nation and for the true promotion, carried out in the political, cultural, economic, and social spheres of a national community. What had been called the struggle for survival in the past, could make no sense, Léger explained, "unless it were concerned not with maintaining a vast museum, but with helping spiritual and cultural values to bloom in terms of invention and creation." Nationalism became the search for the future shape of the French-Canadian nation, "for the means of erecting a modern, original, appropriate, and progressive society." Further, Léger wrote, it would have been impossible for these undertakings to have taken place if the nation had to remain economically

subordinated, politically dominated, and culturally backward. Léger goes on to explain that this 'neo-nationalism' was successful in demystifying

> The salvation of the language by campaigns for good French, mastery of our economy by buying French Canadian, the illusion of equality in the federation through periodic gestures, such as bilingual cheques, and other painful playthings, all this rather disgusting mythology was finally criticized. The refusal of mediocrity had finally come (p. 309).

In his examination of what was transpiring in his society Léger was convinced that it was no longer possible to ask Quebeckers to stake their existence on images of a crown of thorns, to teach them the virtues of poverty, submission, resignation, and to persuade them to fight for the defence of values that no longer conveyed nothing concrete, dynamic, or progressive (p. 309). This form of neo-nationalism, Léger stated, was what is called elsewhere decolonization (p. 313).

Educational Reforms in Quebec Society

Social and institutional reforms which took place in Quebec during the 1960's dispossessed the Roman Catholic clergy of their traditional leadership, in particular, in the area of education. Education became "public business." The educational reforms disturbed many tradition-minded Quebeckers because it threatened to transform the character of the society and diminish the influence of the old local élites based on the parish (Brady, 1970, p. 28). The significance of these educational reforms in Quebec society was that these reforms made education available to the total school-age population. Prior to the 1960's the educational system in Quebec had been elitist, serving only a limited population (Magnuson, 1973, p. 95).

In the 1964 Rapport de la Commission Royale a new philosophical basis for education for Quebec schools was outlined based on the evolution of ideas, on the progress of science, and on technological changes in the modern world (Lamontagne, 1977, p. 155). This new philosophical basis was a drastic change from past ontologies and epistemologies originating from God-centered traditions. These new philosophical ideas would give a student a different view of reality. For example, Hodgetts had found that the purpose for teaching history to French-speaking Roman Catholic children in the 1960's was to "reveal to the child the action of Divine Providence" while emphasizing the purity and religious fervour of their ancestors (1968, p. 13). An analysis of the new "sciences humaines" curriculum for elementary schools in Quebec which appeared in the early 1970's revealed a different approach to knowledge. The new sciences humaines curriculum explicitly stated that the student is an active being who can actually discover through the use of his senses and reasoning powers 'reality' and 'knowledge' about his physical, social, economic and political milieu (Mahé, 1978, pp. 294-295). The new sciences humaines curriculum would seem to be congruent with the new philosophical basis for education as outlined in the 1964 Rapport de la Commission Royale. Since the 1970's Magnuson found that the French-Canadians in Quebec have placed a higher value on practical and applied knowledge. In the past French-Canadians had placed a higher value on religious, literary, and theoretical knowledge at the expense of practical and applied knowledge (1973, p. 103). Magnuson concluded that if French Quebec can produce sufficient numbers of economists and businessmen, "not only will she be in a stronger position to determine her own economic

destiny, but her efforts to make French the language of work would be greatly facilitated" (p. 104).

New Concepts - Umbrellas for Old Modes of Thought?

Transformations, Garant and Fox pointed out in their Annual Report submitted to the Quebec Minister of Education in March of 1971, do not automatically change people's minds and attitudes which are deeply entrenched (1971, pp. 40-41). These educators concluded that even though changes had taken place in the Quebec educational system, a veritable democratization of education had still not been achieved (p. 61). Instituting new reforms, these authors emphasized in their report, required more than good intentions. New reforms required changes in the reference systems used by the population and in the relationship styles between persons and groups, between the authorities and the teachers, the authorities and the parents, the authorities and the students (pp. 42-43). Garant and Fox proposed in their report that as social reality changed, Quebec's educational institutions should be changing accordingly. If educational institutions remained faithful to traditions then these traditions might serve only to hamper and restrain the society's creative and inventive abilities (p. 29).

Educational reforms in Quebec society were basically oriented toward the creation of a viable French society rather than being oriented toward national unity. The rigorous assertion of The French Fact in the 1960's and the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, even though it disturbed the majority of Canadians at that time, has not changed their attitudes. Both societies seem to have withdrawn into their self-assured shell. Hodgetts', after visiting schools

across Canada, expressed a concern that young English and French-speaking Canadians were being raised on sharply opposed views of Canadian history resulting in the internalization of two different value systems (1968, p. 13). A brief analysis of the new "sciences humaines" curriculum being used in Quebec elementary schools disclosed that the curriculum tends to be focused more on the Quebec milieu than on a pan-Canadian outlook (Mahé, 1978, pp. 294-295). The ontological and epistemological basis for education may have changed in Quebec society but the overall societal goal of education may still be the same: Quebeckers are still contemplating an ancestral dream of establishing a French nation on the North American continent.

Even though social reality has been changing in Quebec society, the popular concept "maître chez nous" is still premised on the old concepts of "la race" and "la nation" implying a struggle for "la survivance." Like l'Abbé Lionel Groulx' motto, "Notre maître le passé" was successful in the past in unifying the French-Canadians, the old motto, "Je me souviens" which implies not only that the French-Canadians remember the days of New France but also the fact that they belong to a conquered people (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 47) is still very much in evidence today on Quebec license plates. What could be the purpose of displaying an old French-Canadian motto on Quebec's license plates? Could a display of the motto, "Je me souviens" signify that The French Fact in America today is still not fully recognized?

The French Fact in the Modern World

Lebel is convinced that even though French-Canadians have been politically and administratively separated from France, The French Fact in America today is being recognized. French-Canadians, he goes

on to explain, have managed as a result of their collective efforts and actions to have a history, a language, a culture, a literature, the arts, and they have made scientific and technological discoveries and advances (1966, p. 23). The French Fact in America today may be recognized in cultural terms, but what does The French Fact mean in terms of social relations within a nation? What kind of changes have taken place in the reference systems used by the Canadian population and in the relationship styles between persons and groups in Canada which would demonstrate a veritable recognition of The French Fact?

Brunet is of the opinion that a nation cannot live or act indefinitely on the basis of half-truths, misunderstandings, sentiments that are generous but unreasoned, ideals grandiose but empty, hopes persistent but divorced from reality. He insists that,

> There comes a time when the decision from which former generations shrank can no longer be postponed by their descendants. Such a time is rapidly approaching. The young generation must choose: either to become purely Canadian, thereby accepting the fact that the minority nation that is its inheritance will gradually or brutally disappear for the greater good of the majority and for the creation of a British, monarchic nation-state a mari usque ad mare; or to remain Canadiens by turning inward to Quebec, the province that can support and maintain the French-Canadian nationality. The latter solution will require a realistic reinterpretation of the exact roles, where the French-Canadian minority is concerned, of each of the two governments involved: the national government of the Canadian nation-state, and the national government of French Canada (1971, p. 292).

Based on Brunet's analysis of Quebec's situation he proposed that French-Canadians have two solutions: Either to opt for the fusion that was the dream of some of their ancestors as far back as 1790, or to set up the political and economic framework essential for any nation wishing "to survive" (p. 293).

From the perspective of certain Quebec politicians, Quebec

should opt for independence. Using René Lévesque's own words, "Quebec's independence is not an end in itself; it is a means, and the best one, to bring about the social and economic changes that the country needs" (1970, p. 51). Marcel Chaput rationalized the necessity of a sovereign Quebec on the following grounds:

> In the formation of a French, independent, Quebec state which would decide her own associations, establish cultural links with the 25 French-language countries of the world, be represented by French-Canadian ambassadors in all capitals, speak for herself, in French, at the United Nations assemblies--or along the 4,000 miles of so-called bilingual Canada, where, after 94 years of Confederation, French Canadians of nine provinces are still fighting for an odd hour of French teaching and religion in schools that they paid for themselves, in addition to paying for the public ones; where French-Canadian soldiers cannot even be ordered in their own language to die for Canada that is said to be their own; where in the majority of cases, French Canadians have to take off, like their hat and coat, their mother tongue every working morning, in order to earn a living; where French Canadians are kept at the lower echelons of Canadian life . . . what do you expect us to do? Lie down quietly and die? (1970, pp. 46-47).

Another school of thought exists in French-Canadian society which is tied in with federalism. Pierre Elliott Trudeau argued in Federalism and the French Canadians against positions such as those taken by Brunet, Lévesque, and Chaput. Trudeau wrote in 1960 that sovereignty is unworkable and contradictory. In one passage of his critique on separatism he stated as follows:

> French Canadians could no more constitute a perfect society than could the five million Sikhs of the Punjab. We are not well enough educated, nor rich enough, nor, above all, numerous enough, to man and finance a government possessing all the necessary means for both war and peace. The fixed per-capita cost would ruin us. But I shall not try to explain all this to people who feel something other than dismay at seeing la Laurentie already opening embassies in various parts of the world, 'for the diffusion of our culture abroad' . . . . It is a serious thing to ask French Canadians to embark on several decades of privation and sacrifice, just so that they can indulge themselves in the luxury of choosing 'freely' a destiny more or less identical to the one they have rejected. But the ultimate tragedy would be in not realizing that

> French Canada is too culturally anaemic, too economically destitute, too intellectually retarded, too spiritually paralysed, to be able to survive more than a couple of decades of stagnation, emptying herself of all her vitality into nothing but a cesspit, the mirror of her nationalist vanity and 'dignity' (1968, p. 170).

From different perspectives, Brunet, Chaput, Lévesque and Trudeau affirm that there is a recognition of The French Fact in Canadian society. What seems to trouble these social commentators are the schemes of reference used by some French and English-speaking Canadians when they assign values to The French Fact. To understand The French Fact, one must leave Quebec and inquire into what has been happening to French-Canadians living outside of Quebec.

PART IV. THE FRENCH FACT OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC - MYTH OR REALITY?

While Quebeckers, with a vision to the future were seeking practical solutions to concrete political, economic and social problems, French-Canadians outside of Quebec were experiencing assimilation. Stanley wrote in the 1960's that the battle for survival of The French Fact in Western Canada was rapidly being lost. He predicted that French-speaking Canadians would eventually be absorbed but added at the same time that if this happened it would come slowly and painfully, for even in adversity he had found that the French-Canadian's will to live as French Canadians had always been a mighty and admirable thing (1960, p. 350).

In 1971, the assimiation rate of French-Canadians outside of Quebec indicated that out of 1,420,760 Canadians of French ethnic origin less than 48% were still using French at home (Spicer, 1977, p. 7). In Western Canada the rate of assimilation of French-Canadians was as follows: Manitoba 34.6%; Saskatchewan 49.6%; Alberta 51.2%;

and British Columbia 69.7% (Recensement du Canada, 1971). The assimilation of Western French-Canadians could be attributable to several factors, but for the purpose of this section the position was taken that as a consequence of Western French-Canadians having lost or having given up the control over their significant institutions, Western French-Canadians cannot follow the same cultural route as Quebeckers.

A. THE BACKGROUND TO THE FRENCH FACT IN WESTERN CANADA

The French presence in Western Canada goes back to the days of the fur trade and the opening of missions by the Roman Catholic clergy in the 1800's. The Red River Colony which was populated by an almost equal amount of French-Canadians and French Métis and Scottish and English Canadians and English Métis was the center of activity in Western Canada in the 1800's. As a result of bitter trade wars the French and English Métis developed a sense of unity, to the point where they perceived themselves as the "New Nation." The "New Nation" was plagued by the following factors which resulted in the Red River troubles of 1869-1870 and the North-West Rebellion of 1885: American expansionism which resulted in annexationist agitation in the small Red River Colony; Eastern English-Canadian interests who wanted to make the West an extension of English Upper Canada; Quebec interests who perceived the West as "a little Quebec"; the project of Confederation; the Canadian government's land schemes; railway expansion across the Western plains; mass immigration from Ontario which was crowding out the Métis from their own country and, the Canadian government's refusal to consult with the Métis before formulating Acts and passing Legislation affecting the future of the Red River Colony (Wade, 1968,

Vol. I, pp. 393-440).

The Riel affair of 1885 created a long lasting division between the French and English in Canada. Mercier used the affair to evoke French-Canadian solidarity in Quebec while Laurier used the affair to create a more pan-Canadian cultural pluralism identity. He stated as follows:

> We are French Canadians, but our country is not confined to the territory overshadowed by the citadel of Quebec; our country is Canada, it is the whole of what is covered by the British flag on the American continent, the fertile lands bordered by the Bay of Fundy, the Valley of the St. Lawrence, the region of the Great Lakes, the prairies of the West, the Rocky Mountains, the lands washed by the famous ocean whose breezes are said to be as sweet as the breezes of the Mediterranean. Our fellow-countrymen are not only those in whose veins runs the blood of France. They are all those, whatever their race or whatever their religion, whom the fortunes of war, the chances of fate, or their own choice have brought among us, and who acknowledge the sovereignty of the British Crown (Wade, 1968, Vol. I, p. 427).

The West became the home for all those, whatever their race or whatever their religion may be, and in the process the Western French-Canadians' have been deprived of the constitutional guarantees for their language and their schools "which Cartier had carefully written into the Manitoba Act" (p. 440). In the years following the Riel Rebellion a series of compromises were made in the matter of the French-Canadians educational rights in Western Canada but, as Wade remarked,

> The French Canadians became convinced that they stood on a basis of equality with their English compatriots only in Quebec, despite their constitutional guarantees, and that their brethren in the West were oppressed by the English majority. The question of the rights of the minority groups in the West has remained a thorn in the flesh of French Canada down to the present day, and the only hope of healing this old wound lies in English-Canadian acceptance of the doctrine that Canada is a bilingual and bicultural nation, and that the rights of the French language are not confined to Quebec (p. 440).

In the midst of racial conflict, <u>The French Fact</u> in Western Canada had been established.

When Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, its population numbered approximately 12,000, evenly divided between French-speaking Catholics and English-speaking Protestants (Rea, 1970, p. 47). The Legislative Council at that time reflected the duality of the population. According to Stanley, in the first legislature almost half of the twenty-four members were French-speaking, and it was a French-Canadian, Marc Girard, whom the Lieutenant-Governor called upon to form the first provincial ministry. Stanley continues to explain that in its early days Manitoba was a bilingual province; French and English were spoken in its towns and villages, taught in its schools and heard in its legislative chambers (1960, p. 322). However, with the influx of new groups of English settlers, the electoral boundaries which once acknowledged the political equality of French and English Manitobans were redefined. Despite constitutional guarantees, the provincial legislature in 1890 abolished both the official status of the French language in the province and the dual system of separate denominational schools (p. 323). The provincial legislation which abolished the official status of the French language was challenged in the courts of Manitoba, Canada, and even of Great Britain between the years 1890 and 1896 (p. 324).

The Manitoba School Question of the 1890's resulted in the abolishment of the dual school system, a move on the part of the majority "who felt their process of self-definition demanded conformity to their norms" (Rea, 1970, p. 49). The Manitoba School issue was settled under the Laurier-Greenway agreement. Under the agreement, religious teaching was permitted in the schools for half an hour at the end of each school day, and where ten or more pupils spoke French

(or any other language) elementary teaching could be carried on in that language. The French-Canadian Catholics were bitter about the Laurier-Greenway agreement as under the agreement their language had no more status than another "foreign" tongue (p. 324). In 1916, the Manitoba legislature went as far as doing away with bilingual schools (p. 325). Manitoba's approach to French-Canadian rights set a precedent which other Western Canadian provinces followed. Stanley has interpreted the issues surrounding The Manitoba School Question as follows:

> Forgotten was the history of Manitoba; forgotten was the history of Canada; forgotten, too, was the whole understanding which had made Confederation a possibility in British North America . . . . Thus French, the original language of the plains, the tongue of the explorers, the voyageurs, the traders, and the first settlers, a language which enjoyed "official" status in the Red River Valley for the greater part of the nineteenth century, was proscribed in the schools of twentieth-century Manitoba (p. 325).

B. THE FRENCH FACT IN WESTERN CANADA AND CLERICALISM

Like Quebec, the early development of an identification of The French Fact in Western Canada can be tied to clericalism. Faced with conflicting definitions of reality and the pressure of Anglo-conformity, the Western French-Canadians, under the leadership of the clergy, carried on a struggle for cultural and linguistic survival, with religious survival usually being a priority. The French-Canadian Catholic clergy established educational and social institutions resembling those in Quebec in which they could legitimize their status position in Western French-Canadian society.

The Myth of the Rural Life

As in Quebec society, ideologies and myths perpetuated by the clergy assisted in unifying French-Canadians in Western Canada.

The Roman Catholic clergy became involved in the colonization movement, bringing French-Canadians to settle in Western Canada. The colonization movement was based on the assumption that by returning to the land, French-Canadians could save their soul from the vices of urban, industrialized living "Le salut de l'homme par le retour à la terre" (Stocco, 1974, Vol. I, p. 38). The French-Canadian value system in Alberta during the 1930's as perceived by Bilodeau, a philosophy professor at Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean and a member of the Oblates Order in Alberta was based on elements and practices stemming from rural living: large families ranging from 10 to 20 children; close family ties; owning a piece of land and passing it on to one's son; living in a village or a parish where the social and spiritual life were centered around the Church; the clergy was perceived as giving the French-Canadian a certain sense of security affirming that total success was not of this world; the motto, "Qui perd sa langue perd sa foi"; the school as an extension of the Church, and having a son or daughter in the Holy Orders was viewed as an honor for a family. Parents usually strived to give the youngest of the family a higher education in preparation for either law, medicine or for entrance into a clerical order. Having a member of a family in the Holy Orders elevated the family's status as the clergy were considered to be the élites of French-Canadian society (1974, Vol. I, pp. 339-340). The early development of The French Fact in Western Canada under clericalism was therefore aimed at preserving traditional French-Canadian values, beliefs, and assumptions rather than changing French-Canadian society to meet the demands of a new environment.

In Alberta, for example, there were two major colonizing

periods, from 1890 to World War I and then from World War I until the 1950's. The first group of settlers who came to Alberta prior to World War I had a choice of fertile agricultural lands in the St. Albert, Morinville, Villeneuve, Rivière-Qui-Barre, Vimy, Edison, Picardville, Beaumont, Legal and Vegreville areas. Those settlers who came after World War I settled marginal lands in the Peace River Region. Between 1920 to 1950 French-Canadian centres were opened in Donnelly, Eglesham, Guy, Jean-Côté, Marie Reine, St. Isidore, Tangent, etc. The French-Canadians who settled the Peace River region in the 1930's experienced destitute circumstances. Many of them had left Quebec, the Maritimes, and Northern Ontario where they were experiencing depressed economic conditions only to arrive in Alberta and to be faced with continuing misery (Stocco, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 26-29). French-Canadian communities were slow in their development, and aside from agriculture, could not offer employment to the younger generation. With growing urbanization and industrialization in Alberta, French-Canadians, under the leadership of the clergy, continued to cling to traditional rural life. Not until the 1960's did French-Canadians head for the urbanized areas, where many of them, separated from their family, community and religious bonds rapidly became engulfed in a sea of Anglophones. In this process, French-Canadians became independent and expected very little, if anything, from Francophone institutions. "Ces Franco-Albertains vivent indépendants et n'attendent des institutions francophones ni soutien, ni solidarité, ni contrôle en général" (Silla, 1974, Vol. I, p. 420).

The myth of the rural life was even transmitted through the curriculum in church-controlled educational institutions. For example,

the substantive content of the French grammar text, Cours de langue française, used during the 1950's at St. Joseph's Academy in St. Boniface, Manitoba, an urban and industrialized area, consisted of a series of readings and pictures which glorifed rural living in a small Catholic parish. The tiller of the soil was idealized as a perfect model of the 'good' man (Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, 1946). The French grammar text was basically designed to indoctrinate the students to become submissive and obedient: "Obéissez à vos parents et à vos maîtres si vous voulez que Dieu vous bénisse" (p. 10); "Il obéit promptement et joyeusement à son maître" (p. 19); "Je tâcherai d'être pieux, obéissant et laborieux pendant cette nouvelle année; je plairai ainsi à Dieu et je rendrai mes parents heureux" (p. 137). The false images of reality presented in such a text, combined with ideal models of submissive and obedient man, did not appeal to young people who formed part of the television generation. The images of vibrant and dynamic life-styles brought about by materialism were more appealing to the 1950 student generation than Messianic images and myths based on Other-World-of-God traditions. Bilodeau had remarked that traditional French-Canadian values began changing after 1939 (1974, Vol. I, pp. 339-440). According to Silla's interpretation, in the past, French-Canadian society in an area such as Alberta was a homogeneous, theocratic and patriarchical society. Today, Silla finds French-Canadian society to be a more heterogeneous, individualistic, global, democratic, liberal, Anglo-Saxon Protestant industrialized society (1974, Vol. I, p. 306). The institutionalized myth of the rural life created a gap between tradition and change in Western French-Canadian society. On the one hand, Bilodeau reflects that the

Catholic religion has contributed toward maintaining French-Canadians in Alberta in a sort of a ghetto, but on the other, he feels that without the Church French-Canadians would not be here today discussing the past values of their society (1974, Vol. I, p. 341).

Even if one can still find some Western French-Canadians today discussing the past values of their society, why would young French-Canadians from Falher, Alberta in the early 1970's have referred to themselves as "Dead Ducks"? (Maryse and Yvan Poulin, 1973, pp. 3-6). The Poulins were of the opinion that all that remains for French-Canadians in the West to identify with is a dream or the reality of being assimilated (p. 3). If one listens to Joycelyne Soulodre reminisce about the 1950's in St. Boniface, Manitoba, she would tell you that in the 1950's and the early 1960's when she was a student, the French language and culture was alive and throbbing in St. Boniface, making her feel as if she formed part of a collectivity who fought for something precious, "Autrefois, explique-t-elle, nous formions une collectivité, nous nous battions pour quelque chose." Since Soulodre's days as a student, the bastion of French-Canadian Catholicism in Western Canada, St. Boniface, Manitoba, has crumbled and its legitimizing agents, the clergy, no longer have control over significant French-Canadian institutions. As Soulodre walks le boulevard Provencher in the 1970's she can no longer hear a word of French in Saint-Boniface, "capitale française de l'Ouest" (1977, p. 23).

French-Canadian Associations in Alberta

Research by Silla into the nature of Franco-Albertan associations demonstrated that, in the early 1970's, one-quarter of all Franco-Albertan associations were still religiously oriented. Out of

a total of 217 Franco-Albertan associations, 47 were religious or religiously oriented associations. The number of religiously oriented associations ranked second to socio-cultural associations which numbered 61 (1974, Vol. I, pp. 410-411). These Franco-Albertan associations played a major role in the legitimization of the French-Canadian value-system. The large total number of 217 Franco-Albertan associations clearly demonstrates the social disharmony and the existence of pluralitic cultural goals within the Franco-Albertan community (p. 409b).

French-Canadian associations in Alberta have been developed at the parish, regional and provincial levels. Some organizations, however, were more global in nature. One organization which seems to have gained some prominence in Franco-Albertan society is that of l'Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta (l'A.C.F.A.). This association has, Silla explains, perceived itself as the official representative of the Franco-Albertan population (p. 404).

L'A.C.F.A. came into being in Edmonton in 1926. This organization has served as an umbrella for many different minor organizations. Over the years l'A.C.F.A. has been involved in the development of concrete projects in the area of communication, media, education, religious life, social welfare, social affairs and even in carrying out politicized actions such as the presentation of briefs to the provincial and federal governments. Accusations have been made against this organization by certain segments of the Franco-Albertan population who believed that the actions of l'A.C.F.A. have not always been aimed at meeting the needs and expectations of the Franco-Albertan population. According to Silla, the problem with this association has

been its overly elitist conservative character. A socio-professional analysis of this organization and its organisms by Silla revealed that its active participants were basically clerical and professional people (priests, ecclesiasts, lawyers, doctors, deans, university professors and teachers). L'A.C.F.A. has been labelled by certain French-Canadians as "La Maffia" in reference to the nepotism of certain of its leaders (pp. 400-401). Changes have taken place in the character of this association, and as Silla points out, the membership of this organization is limited when compared to the total Franco-Albertan population (p. 400). Socio-cultural and religious organizations in Alberta, even though well-intentioned, could not guarantee the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians as, lacking political and economic power, French-Canadians could do no more than use their organizations to exert pressure in the political arena. By virtue of the Franco-Albertans lack of political and economic power, French-Canadian organizations became dependent upon the goodwill of the majority, thereby creating frustrating situations when an organization could not satisfy the needs and expectations of its members.

Politics and Economics in Franco-Albertan Society - 1905 to 1914

In the early 1900's in Alberta, French-Canadians became involved in the establishment of Western Canadian political and economic institutions. In general, French-Canadians at that time supported the Liberal party. Only a few French-Canadians were linked to the Conservative party. After Alberta became a province in 1905, Dr. Philippe Roy, a Liberal, was appointed to the Senate and served until 1911 when he was named by the federal government to the post of 'Commissaire général du Canada' in Paris. His career in the years

that followed continued to be linked to prestigious posts.

From 1909 onwards, with the election of P. E. Lessard and Lucien Boudreau, French-Canadians became a more important element in the Legislature. In politics, French-Canadians reached their peak in 1913 when five were elected as provincial Deputies. These five men, all Liberals, included P. E. Lessard, Wilfrid Gariépy, Jean-L. Coté, Lucien Boudreau and James G. Turgeon. In the years which followed, Wilfrid Gariépy replaced Lessard as a French-Canadian representative in Cabinet. In Conservative politics, Hector Landry served first as the second vice-president of the Conservative Association in Edmonton, and second in 1907, as vice-president of the provincial Conservative party.

The short list above mentions only a few of the French-Canadians who were actively involved in Alberta politics from 1905 to World War I. Hart, in his thesis on The History of the French-speaking Community of Edmonton 1795-1935 identified the names of other French-Canadians who participated in Alberta's political development (1971). In his thesis, Hart further demonstrated that French-Canadians were not only involved in politics but that they also shared in the economic growth and success of Albertan society.

Hart illustrated the French-Canadians involvement in Alberta's development in all spheres of economic life, either as individuals, as groups or by entering into professional or business partnerships with English-Canadians. Being linked to Edmonton's economic community, also being involved in politics was not uncommon. Eminent French-Canadian lawyers at that time were Wilfrid Gariépy, Hector and John Landry, J. Camelien Noel, Louis Madore, Lucien Dubuc and L. A. Giroux.

Men such as René Lemarchand, H. Milton Martin, P. E. Lessard, Adéodat Boileau, Léo Savard, J. H. Picard, J. H. Gariépy, Stanislas La Rue, Dr. A. Blais and many others were recognized as financial leaders. French-Canadians were associated with the construction and building industries, real estate, lending institutions, insurance, the exploitation of natural resources, and industrial and commercial enterprises. As Hart pointed out, economic and political bonds between the English and the French community were often strengthened by family ties.

World War I, the recession which followed, the increasing number of immigrants in Alberta were some of the factors which eventually placed French-Canadians in a fourth position in Alberta. With growing industrialization some French-Canadians experienced financial ruination. Even though French-Canadians were actively involved in Alberta's political and economic life, they were limited, as a result of a lack of large amounts of capital, from developing major industries and from exploiting, on a larger scale, Alberta's natural resources. With the decline of the Liberal party in Alberta after World War I French-Canadians began to lose their access to power. French-Canadians in urban areas continued to support the Liberal party whereas French-Canadians in rural areas were politically divided as they either supported the United Farmers' of Alberta or the Social Credit party (Stocco, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 58-65).

In the years following World War I some French-Canadians continued to be involved in lending institutions and with the insurance business. During the depression years "caisses populaires" (credit unions) and cooperatives began to appear. These French-Canadian banking and lending institutions managed to survive in the years which

followed. Politically divided and at an economic disadvantage with growing industrialization in Alberta, Franco-Albertans after World War I gradually lost their political and economic influence.

C. THE DEVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH FACT IN WESTERN CANADA

Bouthillette, a Quebecker, arrived at the conclusion that the cultural existence of The French Fact outside of Quebec was a myth as French-Canadians are cut off from collective sources and are nourished by the English culture and by its institutions in a milieu which denies their authentic existence and their collectivity's distinctiveness at the provincial levels (1972, pp. 26-31). Further, French-Canadians outside of Quebec, especially in Alberta, are disadvantaged in terms of revenues and of professional representation when compared to Anglophones (Allaire and Toulouse, 1973; Munro, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 355-369; Mabru, 1974, Vol. I, pp. 370-387; Liguori, 1977). The implication of the French-Canadians' lack of political and economic power in Western Canada is that French-Canadians have had to depend on the majority society for their cultural and linguistic development.

French-Canadians outside of Quebec have been obliged, over the years, to turn to the central government for cultural and linguistic help (Stanley, 1960, p. 346). In comparison to French-Canadians in Quebec, Western French-Canadians have become 'consumers' of culture. The Western French-Canadians' dependency upon the federal government for funds and grants for their cultural and linguistic development has placed them in a situation that once these funds disappear, the French culture could vanish, "L'argent disparu, tout va s'effronder" (Auger,

1977, p. 24). The funds and grants received by French-Canadians for their cultural and linguistic development are basically funds allocated by the Secretary of State for the development of "bilingualism" in Canada.

The Official Languages Act and Western French-Canadians

Trudeau, in Federalism and the French Canadians, stated that before a pluralist state could become a reality in Canada, Canadians of British origin had much to do, or rather, undo. He remarked that in Canada, the die was cast:

> There are two main ethnic and linguistic groups; each is too strong and too deeply rooted in the past, too firmly bound to a mother-culture, to be able to engulf the other. But if the two will collaborate at the hub of a truly pluralistic state, Canada could become the envied seat of a form of federalism that belongs to tomorrow's world (1968, pp. 178-179).

Approximately a year after Trudeau and his Liberal government had been in power at the federal level, Trudeau's dream of a pluralistic state was transformed into an Official Languages Act. The Official Languages Act which came into force on September 7, 1969 stated that as far as federal institutions were concerned, "The English and French languages are the official languages of Canada" and they "possess and enjoy equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use" (Department of the Secretary of State, 1970).

For different reasons, the Official Languages Act was negatively perceived by those interested in the survival of the French language and culture. Some believed that the Official Languages Act would not resolve the French-Canadian Quebeckers' economic problems; others felt that the Act would not change their minority status at the provincial levels; others were convinced that institutional bilingualism

was an agent of assimilation. Rioux, a Quebec separatist, responded that this federalist solution would be costly, frustrating and exhausting. He called bilingualism "a slow death, a program of mongrelization, franglais sanctified as an institution" (1971, p. 124). Rioux also pointed out that, while French-Canadians were fighting for bilingual stamps, the English-Canadians and the Americans were swinging big deals and throwing up industrial plants (p. 124). Bilingual stamps and federal government guarantees of services in both official languages may only be a facade if one listens to Robitaille. In a newspaper article, "Bilingualism in Calgary 'a facade'," Robitaille criticized the fact that Francophones in Calgary cannot even walk into a Calgary post office and ask for stamps and find someone who will know what they want (1977, p. 30). For the members of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, institutional bilingualism is a "myth" as it does not, from their point of view, provide French-Canadians outside Quebec with legal guarantees at the provincial levels which they consider necessary for the cultural and linguistic survival of the French-Canadian collectivity (1977).

Laws do not necessarily bring about social changes, especially if the mentalities are not open to accept these changes. Demarino, in a newspaper article "The French Fact - Home is Alberta," had intended to demonstrate to the reader that Alberta is not full of red-necked, cowboy-hatted bigots ready to fight the Plains of Abraham all over again. However, a contradiction became evident in his article when he commented that the Official Languages Act and the push for bilingualism had transferred the French presence in Alberta from a well-established, well-tolerated largely cultural fact to a hot,

resented political issue which resulted in a resistance and a backlash. He quoted Mr. Meunier as saying that if the federal and Quebec politicians "had left us alone and just encouraged French in the schools it would have been a damn good start" (1976, p. 5).

Whatever position one takes toward bilingualism, Jaenen makes us aware that bilingualism is a social, political, economic and demographic reality in Canada. In an analysis of "Minority Group Schooling and Canadian National Unity" he summed up the bilingual situation in Canada as follows:

> One cannot be for it or against it - the only relevant position is one of adjustment to this reality. Such an adjustment may vary, and yet be equitable and reasonable, from region to region, from time to time, from level to level, etc. But over-all there must be a Pan-Canadian, a comprehensive and all-encompassing image of the nation and its institutions. Canada is a Janus-like nation, with an English and a French face (1973, p. 93).

The French Fact in Western Canada in a Pan-Canadian Setting

Bilingualism could be interpreted as a means of creating a Pan-Canadian, a comprehensive and all-encompassing image of the Canadian nation and its institutions. From a different perspective, Léger would argue that more bilingual signs and the end of the injustices done to the French-Canadians in the West are not necessarily going to solve the problem of national unity or make the Quebec crisis disappear (1971, p. 313). While the debate continues between René Lévesque, Premier of Quebec, on one side and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, on the other--two men whom Beaulieu sees as being the incarnation of Quebec and its different levels of culture and all that is vibrant, profound, triumphant and prodigious in that culture (1977, p. A7)--Western French-Canadians are rapidly being

assimilated.

Rioux predicted in the early 1970's that the French culture outside of Quebec was doomed to wane away, but that Quebeckers, still had a future ahead of them. He forecasted that "The fate of Canada's French-speaking people will be decided in Quebec itself" (1971, p. 114). Price, from a different perspective, reached the conclusion that if Quebeckers let the French language and culture die outside of Quebec, they would be condemning themselves to a "ghetto Québécois" as they would become immigrants in their own country (1973, p. 16). But, as Stanley has emphasized, Quebeckers cannot assist French-Canadians outside of Quebec because Quebec has been restrained from interfering in the affairs of other provinces, even on behalf of the people to whom it has given birth (1960, pp. 344-347). A paradox exists. French-Canadians outside of Quebec have often displayed a rather "independentist" attitude toward Quebec and have developed something like a colonized mentality toward Quebeckers. For instance, when Radio-Canada integrated the Western stations to the Eastern French language radio station many French-Canadians expressed publicly their concern and fears that the Quebec culture would be imposed upon them. From Painchaud, a Manitoba historian's point of view, the imposition of Quebec's culture on other French-Canadians appears to have actually happened, "Et dans une certaine mesure, c'est ce qui c'est produit" (Carlyle-Gordge, 1977, p. 26). Trudeau cautioned that French-Canadians outside of Quebec could have a future only if Quebec established itself as a strong, progressive force within Confederation, "If Quebec withdraws into itself or secedes" he warned, "these French minorities will have approximately the same rights and the same

influence as cultural groups of German origin in Canada" (1968, p. 34).

In the meantime, Claudette Lagimodière, a sixth generation Franco-Manitoban whose family history is linked to Louis Riel, is worried, like so many other Western French-Canadians, that if Quebec separates, French-Canadians will be in exile (Carlyle-Gordge, 1977, p. 27). Demarino noted after interviewing several Franco-Albertans that on the question of a Quebec separation, "most Franco-Albertans would like to see Quebec stay in Confederation because they fear a break-up of Canada otherwise, and the loss of much beneficial input by that province, especially cultural" (1976, p. 5). As we approach the 1980's French-Canadians in Western Canada are still caught in the middle of a debate which will ultimately affect their cultural and linguistic destiny. In the continuing debate there are many perspectives about national unity and Quebec separatism.

Joey Smallwood, the former Newfoundland premier and the only living Father of Confederation, was quoted in a newspaper article as saying that if Quebec separates, "it will be the end of Canada" (1978, p. C2). The only remaining provinces that would be united as Canada, he went on to state, would be Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan while the rest of the country would go south. As a partial solution, he suggested that the citizens of Canada should let Quebeckers know that they care for them and respect their heritage and want them to remain a vital part of the country. Smallwood went as far as to propose that Canadians outside of Quebec should organize a pilgrimage to some small Quebec town, getting together as many people as possible, riding in cars, trucks, buses, vans or whatever, and driving to the small town with placards on their vehicles, written in French, telling

Quebeckers that we care for them (p. C2). How would Smallwood's gesture resolve Quebec's more major economic and social problems? How would it guarantee the linguistic and cultural survival of French-Canadians outside of Quebec?

"The Hour is Very, Very Late"

Cook, after reexamining and reflecting upon the entire English-French question in Canada has reached the conclusion that optimism about Canada's future as a united country is foolish. He cautions Canadians that,

> The cost of the policies necessary to give the country a fighting chance of staying united will be high in money and even in some degree in individual inconvenience. That cost will have to be paid without any certain guarantee that the policies will succeed, for the hour is very, very late. Yet the cost will not be greater than what we will be required to pay if the country is split by the secession of Quebec (1977, p. 20).

From a particular Quebec perspective, Léger, with a vision to the future, is of the opinion that one cannot push back the due dates indefinitely and,

> Let problems lie rotting, multiply the unsatisfactory compromises that irritate the majority as much as the minority, and then in the long run forbid both minority and majority to work out their own destinies. One cannot suppress differences indefinitely with token gestures, veiling them in the euphemism of unity in diversity, and carry on, between the central government and the provinces, particularly Quebec, tricky dealings that are raised to the level of an institution (1971, p. 312).

He views the French-Canadian nation in Quebec as a nation that wants to live, to create, to express itself and to acquire for itself institutions in all fields that its growth demands (p. 313).

In an article, "Simple repairs won't keep this nation together, it must be totally rebuilt" Meisel expressed a concern that the

solution to Canada's national crisis ultimately resides not in constitutional revision nor economic conditions, but in the hearts of Canadians. Meisel has serious doubts that the majority of Canadians want the country to survive badly enough to make the needed adjustments and possible sacrifices. Required change of will, Meisel believes, can come about only if three conditions are met: (1) We must gain a realistic understanding of the conditions under which the country can survive. (2) We shall have to develop the wish to bring about the needed conditions. (3) We must have the capacity to act on the basis of the wish (1977, p. 8). Meisel also cautions that acting on a realistic understanding of our problems and our wish to survive may require us to change our fundamental values. He is rather pessimistic that Canada's political institutions, electronic and printed media and its intellectuals and other opinion leaders will be able to induce Canadians to the point of altering their underlying values (p. 8).

Based on a recent 1978 Goldfarb Poll, the present state of affairs in Canada between French and English is as follows:

1. "The gap in understanding between French and English in Canada is widening";

2. "English-Canadians have a long way to go to demonstrate that they accept and respect French-Canadians as their equals";

3. "Quebecers sense they are becoming more and more alienated from the rest of the country";

4. "Quebecers see attitudes and relations between themselves and English-Canadians as deteriorating or changing for the worse" (1978, p. A1);

5. "The prejudiced element in English Canada seems to be

making more of an impression in Quebec than the pro-federalist element, to the detriment of future prospects for Confederation" (p. A3). The Goldfarb findings tend to support Cook's statement that, "the hour is very, very late" (1977, p. 20) and Léger's warning that Canadians "cannot push back the due dates indefinitely, let problems lie rotting, multiply the unsatisfactory compromises that irritate the majority as much as the minority" (1971, p. 312). Meisel is probably correct that "simple repairs won't keep this nation together, it must be totally rebuilt" (1977, p. 8).

Before Canadians could dream of rebuilding Canadian society they would have to begin by identifying and evaluating the obsolescence of concepts and of thought-forms embedded in their organized knowledge which has been shaping their minds and attitudes for centuries. Changing our fundamental values may not be all that simple. The Fathers of Confederation, in their pursuit of consolidating and unifying Canada's two major linguistic and cultural groups, the English and the French so that together they "could find a goal worthy of cooperation and forego the bitter rivalries of the past" (Brown and Prang, 1966, p. 1), had no premonition that a Multicultural Fact would be introduced in Canadian society.

The French Fact and The Multicultural Fact in Western Canada

Multiculturalism, for the members of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, is perceived as a further threat to their cultural and linguistic survival because they believe it places them at the same level as other 'ethnic groups' (1977, Vol. I, p. 98). Rea reminds us in "The Roots of Prairie Society" that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had found that the

greatest resentment toward French Canada came from among those immigrant groups of the West whose own cultural heritage has been emasculated (1970, p. 54). Rea is concerned that if French Canada were ghettoized or, worse, if it lost its identity after nearly four hundred years in North America, "what then would be the prospects for a multi-cultural society?" (p. 54).

In our organized knowledge about the nature of Canadian society we still tend to divide ourselves into an English and a French camp. The Goldfarb Poll is a good example of our taken-for-granted cultural-linguistic reference system in Canada (1978, p. A1, A3, A8, A9). At the time of Confederation it was possible to refer to two distinct linguistic and cultural groups, the English and the French. Today, with Canada's large ethnic population, English may be the language of communication as a matter of economic and social necessity, but it is no longer possible to speak of an English culture per se just as it is no longer possible to talk about a French-Canadian culture, in its traditional sense. To better understand what is implied by cultural change in Canadian society maybe cultural anthropologists such as Keesing and Keesing can assist in the clarification of how, even in a modern society, obsolete concepts still shape perceptions of reality. Keesing and Keesing theorize as follows:

> We are only now beginning to realize what explosive forces are generated when ideologies of superiority and inferiority are superimposed on a people, and their view of themselves and their way of life is shattered. Even if the material circumstances of their lives have not changed noticeably, a people no longer live in the same world--a world with themselves in the center. Whatever course they take--despair, revolt, messianic escapism, resignation, aspiration to the dominant culture--they set in motion forces that are seething beyond control through the modern world. One of the struggles of emerging African and Asian and Latin American nations is not simply to unify

> culturally diverse peoples but also to forge a new self-identity and self-respect, to rejoin the broken pieces of self-images shattered by subordination. The quest for symbols of a new identity, the change of valence from shame to pride, the search for historical roots, the surging new power and rage, express the emergence of new cultural unities out of the ruins left by European expansion (1971, p. 360).

In their quest for a new identity in the modern world, many French-Canadians in Quebec perceive themselves as having the necessary attributes for developing and evolving their own unique nation. French-Canadians living in Western Canada seem to have resigned themselves to aspiring to be like the dominant Western Canadian culture, a culture made up of an amalgam of ethnic definitions of reality. Western French-Canadians live in a society where the term "historical roots" has different meanings than in Quebec society. Western Canadian society is a blend of an old and a new society. The old English-French society had its historical roots in the North-West Territories. The new Western Canadian society, which is made up of a mixture of ethnic groups, is presently in the process of setting up historical roots. Rea, in "The Roots of Prairie Society" attempts to demonstrate how the immigrant who came to Western Canada in the early 1900's was made plainy aware that his language and his culture were his badges of inferiority, and a "continuing obstacle to assimilation" (1970, p. 51) In the 1930's and 1940's there was a great rush to assimilate, especially among second and third generations (p. 54). In recent years, ethnic groups, such as the Ukrainians, for example, have begun to demonstrate a strong interest in maintaining their ancestral language. What seems to be a major preoccupation of Western Canadians from different ethnic backgrounds is to develop a new self-identity and to gain self-respect. A

Western Canadian cultural unity based on old and new "historical concepts" has yet to emerge.

SUMMARY

The Evolution of The French Fact in Quebec

A conflict in the 1760's which introduced an alternative and competing symbolic universe into the life of the French in New France resulted in the French-Canadian's continuing struggle over the centuries for political, economic, cultural and linguistic survival against Anglo-conformity. The development of an identification of The French Fact began with clericalism. From the 1850's to the early 1900's French-Canadian nationalism reflected clerical perceptions of reality based on Messianic and agrarian traditions. These Messianic and agrarian traditions not only determined, but also delimited the French-Canadian's economic and social development placing him in a position of economic and social inferiority in comparison to his partner in Confederation, the English-Canadian. Pluralistic thought, based on concepts such as autonomy, independence and separatism often lurked in the background of conservative nationalism. With growing economic and social problems in Quebec society arising from technology, industrialization, the exploitation of Quebec's natural resources, and urbanization, the concepts of autonomy, independence and separatism provided a background for a strong assertion of The French Fact in the 1960's resulting in a power structure transformation and institutional reforms. After the 1960's Quebeckers no longer perceived themselves as submissive and obedient men, but rather as men capable of creating political, economic and social changes which could

permit them to evolve their culture. In the process of reforming Quebec institutions, French-Canadians became aware that they were still 'colonisés' as the federal-provincial structure, conceived in the minds of men living in the early embryonic stages of industrialization and urbanization continued to delimit their possibilities for cultural evolution. By working within the confines of their own provincial political, economic and social institutions, Quebeckers have managed to create a more modern, viable and dynamic French culture. Two major schools of thought continue to exist in Quebec society as to what 'ought' to be the future of Quebec. These schools of thought are founded on either federalist or independentist (separatist-sovereign) political assumptions.

The Devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada

The development of an identification of The French Fact in Western Canada was, like in Quebec, also based on Messianic and agrarian traditions transmitted by the Roman Catholic clergy in French-Canadian social and educational institutions. These traditions did not evolve into any nationalist movements as they did in Quebec society. Instead, Messianic and agrarian traditions were developed within patriotic French-Canadian organizations. Some French-Canadians in Alberta, at the turn of the century, attempted to evolve The French Fact by actively participating in the development of political and economic institutions. After World War I, as a result of the decline of the Liberal party in Alberta; growing industrialization which required large capital investments which French-Canadians did not have; and as a result of changes taking place in society with new waves of immigrants, Franco-Albertans gradually lost their political

and economic power in Albertan society. The Riel affair and The Manitoba School Question had set a precedent for English-French relationships. With the French-Canadians' gradual loss of political and economic influence, they saw their equality of status and their linguistic rights reduced to privileges and permissions at the provincial levels. For many years French-Canadians managed to maintain their language and culture by working through their Church-controlled educational and social institutions. Within these institutions traditional French-Canadian culture never evolved to meet the demands of a rapidly changing industrialized and urbanized society. Since the 1950's Western French-Canadians have gradually lost control or given up control over their educational institutions which had never been secularized. By virtue of the French-Canadians' loss of control over their significant institutions, the English culture has become dominant in Western Canada. French-Canadians in Western Canada have become dependent upon federal funding and grants for cultural and linguistic maintenance. Western French-Canadians may have a rich cultural heritage which they wish to transmit to their young; but, having lost control or given up control over their significant social institutions, the only option, short of becoming assimilated, which seems to be available to them is to work through the concept of bilingualism.

The French Fact and Young Franco-Albertans

What can young Franco-Albertans become? Given the development and the identification of The French Fact in Quebec and outside of Quebec, when we talk about young Quebeckers, we are talking about different cultural persons than when we are talking about young Franco-

Albertans. Even though these young people may have a common cultural and linguistic heritage, they have, as a result of different social experiences and different political and economic practices in their societies, evolved into distinct cultural persons with different needs, different aspirations and different world-views. The young Québécois live in a society which has the attributes of a developing nation whereas young Franco-Albertans live in a society which ignores their distinctive historico-cultural roots. As a result, the French language and culture mean different things to young Québécois than they do to young Franco-Albertans. The young Québécois can work and play in French and in their daily living they can observe the adults in their society using the French language to create and transform their institutions and value-system. The French language must therefore be compelling to the young Québécois as it offers them a sense of unity and power. The Franco-Albertan collectivity, having no political, economic or social power at the provincial level and having either lost control or given up control of their significant socialization institutions, can no longer offer the young in their society a language which will give them a sense of unity and power. As a result, young Franco-Albertans are caught between models of man from a traditional French-Canadian society and models of man from an evolving English-speaking majority society which is made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds. Whether young Franco-Albertans, when they become adults choose to work toward defining <u>The French Fact</u> in society, or become assimilated, the Quebec situation will either directly or indirectly have a determining effect upon their ultimate cultural and linguistic destiny.

CHAPTER III

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE ETUDES SOCIALES CURRICULUM

Curriculum in Alberta has been defined in The Alberta Teachers' Association Handbook as including all those activities and experiences provided under the direction of the school for the furtherance of the needs of society and the needs of individuals in that society (1977, p. 1). Within the context of Alberta society, any reference made to the "needs of society" and "the needs of individuals in that society" has implied the needs of the English-speaking majority society. This point is made explicit in The Alberta Teachers' Handbook as follows: "Historically, the curriculum for Alberta schools no doubt was transplanted by the early settlers from Ontario and the United States" (p. 19).

What becomes apparent in this interpretation of curriculum in Alberta is that Albertans have either consciously or unconsciously turned their back on history, forgetting or denying the development and identification of The French Fact in their society. What social forces or determinants underlie the world-view of Alberta educators in the 1970's which causes them to delimit the values and experiences of French-Canadians in their province whose curriculum, no doubt, was transplated by the early settlers from Quebec? The definition of curriculum as outlined in The Alberta Teachers' Handbook is indicative of the English-speaking Canadian's power in education and the French-

Canadian's lack of power in education. In Chapter II (The French Fact) of this study, it was demonstrated that Western French-Canadians have, over the years, lost control or given up control of their significant institutions. This chapter attempts to demonstrate the relationship between the Western French-Canadians' lack of political and economic power and lack of power in education. In Chapter II of this study, reference was made to the fact that Western French-Canadians have become dependent upon federal assistance for maintaining their language and culture. This chapter attempts to relate what happens when French-Canadians become dependent upon the majority, who are in control of bilingual education in Alberta, for transmitting the French language and culture to Franco-Albertan students. This chapter further attempts to show the relationship between limitations placed on a group of French-Canadian Etudes Sociales curriculum developers (see Chapter I for the problem which led to this study) and the Franco-Albertans' loss of political power in education.

This chapter is divided into two major sections. First, an inquiry is made into the historical and contemporary development and identification of The French Fact in Alberta education. This inquiry determines how one group achieved political power in education by virtue of the French-Canadians losing control or giving up control of their educational institutions. In the second section of this chapter, the implication of the French-Canadians' lack of political power in education is discussed in relation to French instruction; cultural maintenance; cultural development and curriculum development with an emphasis on the Etudes Sociales Curriculum and its multiple societal goals. In the concluding section, a focus is placed on the implica-

tions of education practices for the education of young Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools.

PART I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN ALBERTA

French minority education in Alberta is the story of one cultural group's loss of political influence in public life. With the numerical increase of English-speaking Protestant settlers in Alberta in the early 1900's, French-Canadians became a small minority. As a numerical majority, English-speaking Canadians gained political power permitting them to create a society in which they could establish the norms, principles, and standards for human conduct. Berger and Berger say that "Each exercise of power is, as it were, backed up by specific legal provisions. At least in principle, these provisions can be rationally explained, and so can the social purpose behind them" (1975, pp. 286-287). Laws, Lederman suggests, will discriminate between different kinds of persons, different kinds of conduct and states of mind "for purposes of defining the entitlement of the persons concerned to certain legal rights, privileges, powers or immunities" (1967, p. 179). For the purpose of this chapter, educational laws or Acts were viewed as prescriptions which allocate certain values to certain kinds of behavior and knowledge. As English-speaking Canadians became dominant in the political sphere in Alberta, they allocated a lesser value on the official use of French. A cloak of legitimacy for their actions was provided by demonstrating in their School Acts that the French language had little if any educational value in Albertan society. With political and social changes taking place in Canadian society from the 1950's onward, modifications have been made

to the School Act in Alberta with regard to French instruction.

A. THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF FRENCH IN ALBERTA

From the 1850's to the early 1900's, English and French were both used as languages of instruction in the first schools established in Alberta. These schools were supported and operated under the auspices of the Catholic and Protestant churches (Alberta Education, 1973, p. 1). Thomas relates that the Northwest Territories Act of 1875 conferred the right to separate schools and by a further amendment in 1877 it gave equality to French and English in the courts and the records and proceedings of the Council (1970, p. 5). In 1891 an amendment to the Northwest Territories Act was accepted by Ottawa increasing the powers of the Assembly with regard to the use of the French language in its proceedings (p. 11). By 1892 the use of French in recording and publishing the proceedings of the Assembly was abolished by a resolution introduced by Haultain who apparently showed little sympathy for French-Canadian and Roman Catholic aspirations (p. 12). A parallel development in the area of French education occurred during the same year. One of the bills introduced that year in the Assembly proposed to abolish the Board of Education with its Protestant and Catholic sections and to centralize and secularize educational administration in the hands of the Executive Committee. Even though this bill was defeated, the Council of Public Instruction modelled on a single school system with rights guaranteed for separate schools replaced the earlier Board of Education which was made up of a Catholic and a Protestant section (121). Consequently, in order to use French in schools where there were French-speaking pupils,

"permissions" had to be obtained.

In practice, the usage of French in schools as a language of instruction was limited to approximately one hour each day during which grammar, reading, composition and literature were taught in addition to other subjects which were given in English (Alberta Education, 1973, p. 1). The reduction of 'rights' to 'permissions' clearly demonstrates that laws become the very fabric of the political order. Stanley describes the situation during those years as follows:

> The Territories were moving towards a change of political status and the French-Catholic minority was fearful and apprehensive of what its own fate might be. Experience in Manitoba had taught only one lesson, that mercy and tolerance were not to be hoped for from a hostile or unfeeling majority. The only hope, weak as it had proven to be, still lay with Ottawa, where French-Catholic representation was not without some influence upon the course of government policy. After all, the Northwest Territories were the political creation of Parliament, and the terms upon which the Territories would enter Confederation as provinces would be for Ottawa to decide (1960, p. 328).

These early abrogations of 'rights' in the 1890's set the precedent for French education in Alberta. In the years which followed French-Canadians have been vulnerable to the varying and changing ambitions, prejudices and attitudes of those who constituted the power structure.

When Alberta became a Province in 1905, virtually no changes were made in terms of French education. Hart has demonstrated that from 1905 until the end of World War I the French-Canadian community could easily protect their rights as they had enough influential French-Canadian politicians to prevent any problems from developing. With a sense of security at the political level, the French-Canadian politicians did not wish to reopen the question of French education. Instead, they concentrated on inventing other means which could

guarantee their ethnic and religious survival (1971).

B. CHURCH-CONTROLLED BILINGUAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

During the early 1900's two bilingual Church-controlled educational institutions were opened in Edmonton. The bilingual Juniorat Saint-Jean which was purchased in May of 1976 by the Federal and Provincial governments and transferred to The University of Alberta, becoming a Faculty of that University in 1978, had originally been opened in 1910 by the Oblate Fathers for the purpose of forming missionary priests. In its early years the Juniorat's student population was composed of both Anglophones and Francophones with the curriculum being taught mainly in English. By 1926, the growing French-Canadian student population at the Juniorat pressured the institution in offering more French in the "classes préparatoires." In 1931, the Juniorat Saint-Jean began to offer the Department of Education's Program of Studies up to Grade XII with the section of the program, "la Belle-Lettre, les Langues et la Rhétorique" requiring that students pass University of Ottawa exams. Upon completion of these exams students could then go on to the an eastern university for their Bachelors degree. Saint-Jean had received the authority from the Province of Alberta in 1961 to offer a general formation in the Arts and Sciences. That same year, the Université de Laval opened up an education section leading to a B. Ed. degree on the Collège Saint-Jean campus (Silla, Vol. I, 1974, pp. 480-484). Today, Faculté Saint-Jean continues to offer courses in the Arts, Sciences and Education, with the majority of these courses being taught in the French language to both Anglophone and Francophone students with an interest in becoming "bilingual."

A second bilingual classical college was opened in Edmonton in 1913 by the Jésuites. This bilingual college was received with enthusiasm by the élite Francophone community because it meant that Franco-Albertans no longer would have to send their children to Quebec for a classical education in French. This institution had been financed mainly by subscriptions undertaken by several Francophone community leaders such as J. H. Picard and J. H. Gariépy (Hart, 1971). According to Stanley, in 1940, the Collège d'Edmonton was obliged to close its doors (1960, p. 334). Other Church-controlled educational bilingual institutions were opened in Alberta such as a Collège for boys in Falher and in 1926, a school for girls, l'Académie Assomption. These institutions are no longer in existence.

As the educational bilingual institutions controlled by the Church were centered in Edmonton, a very small minority of the French-Canadian population were able to send their children to these institutions. The remainder of the Franco-Albertan population received their education in local district public schools. Small school districts in French-speaking communities were usually controlled by French-Canadians, permitting French-Canadians to oversee, to a certain degree, the education of their children. A French-Canadian organization with Church support was formed in 1925 called l'Association des Canadiens Français de l'Alberta (l'A.C.F.A.) which devoted much of its energies in the area of French education. L'A.C.F.A. carried on a struggle for French linguistic and Catholic rights and privileges in education.

C. THE FRANCO-ALBERTANS' STRUGGLE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

L'A.C.F.A. devoted much of its energies in defending French

and Catholic privileges in Alberta by exerting pressure upon the government to insert safeguards in the new legislation for the rights of French Canadians. Stanley outlined some of these safeguards as follows:

> It was provided that when the board of an ordinary school district, forming a part of a large administrative unit, requested religious instruction in the school in conformity with existing regulations, the board of the large unit would engage a teacher for this purpose, nominated by the smaller. A similar provision was made for bilingual instruction in the primary grades. Moreover, should three or more local school boards ask to be excluded from the larger divisional grouping on the grounds of dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded them in the matter of religious or bilingual instruction, they might withdraw from the divisional grouping, following a majority vote of the ratepayers in a referendum held under the auspices of the Minister of Education (1960, p. 338).

The safeguards as outlined by Stanley above were not sufficient in the face of growing centralization which was affecting the prairie provinces in the late 1930's early 1940's.

Centralization, a Threat to French-Canadian Linguistic Survival

The "dirty thirties" in Alberta accelerated the movement for the centralization of small school districts into larger units. Hundreds of small school districts were unable to pay their teachers and began seeking financial stability through consolidations. Johnson points out that in 1936, Alberta's newly-elected Social Credit Government under the leadership of William Aberhart, a former teacher, made the large unit concept a central feature in its educational planning. That same year the government authorized the large unit or "division." In 1937, eleven divisions were organized by the Minister which took in 774 small rural districts (1968, p. 112). According to Stanley, the French-Canadians saw the dangers implicit in this proposed legislation. This legislation would, they believed, result in their

being outvoted thereby seriously limiting, if not completely nullifying their privileges (1960, p. 338). The Franco-Albertans' fears became a reality. By 1941 Alberta had fifty large divisions functioning (Johnson, 1968, p. 112). As a result of centralization, school districts usually united enough non-Catholic districts and non-French districts to prevent French-Canadians from electing a majority of representatives on a school division's board (Sister Jeanne Louise 1961, pp. 38-43).

Increasing Instructional Time in French with Majority Safeguards

Instruction in French from the early 1900's to date continues to be a privilege by "permissions" and not a right for Franco-Albertans. Further, instruction in French is dependent upon the good graces of School Boards. Modifications in the School Act have been made in the 1950's, in 1968, in 1970 and more recently in 1976. These modifications, over the years, have resulted in the gradual increase in the amount of instructional time which may be allocated for French instruction from Grades 1 - 12.

Changes in the School Act with regard to French instruction may have been a result of either direct or indirect actions taken by French-Canadians through their organizations. Stanley noted that during the sittings of the Rowell-Sirois Commission, which produced a report in 1940, three western French-Canadian national associations presented strong briefs demanding redress of grievances suffered at the hands of the several provinces (1960, p. 346). As an outcome of this Commission, CBC's French network inaugurated Radio Collège at the high school or collège level (Johnson, 1968, p. 124). In 1949, l'A.C.F.A. testifying before the Royal Commission on the Arts and

Sciences, advocated the establishment of a permanent, national, cultural committee comprising the two autonomous sections, French and English; which would be responsible for cultural matters in the whole country (Stanley, 1960, p. 347). Before the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism came into being in the early 1960's, l'A.C.F.A. had approached the Alberta government in order that certain courses be offered in French in Alberta's bilingual schools (A.C.F.A. 50 ans d'histoire, 1976, pp. 16-17). L'A.C.F.A. had also prepared a brief to the government and the Edmonton Separate School Board for the construction of l'Ecole Picard; another brief was presented by l'A.C.F.A. to the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission asking for the right to teach in French and insisting on the creation of a teacher training institution for the formation of bilingual teachers; the Raynault Commission also heard l'A.C.F.A.'s brief appealing for a bilingual teacher training institution (p. 17). According to Nicholchuk, the most salient reasons for the change in the Alberta School Act was probably as an outcome of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which had recommended that public education be provided "in each of the official minority languages at both the elementary and the secondary levels in the bilingual districts." Nicholchuk further attributes the unrest in Quebec as having influenced the federal government, which in turn, influenced the provincial government (1974, Vol. II, pp. 46-47).

Briefly, some of the modifications made to the Alberta School Act from the 1950's to date have been as follows: In 1952, under Section 386 of the School Act the teaching of French was limited as follows: in grades 1 and 2, at least one hour a day for instruction in

English was required; in grade 3, instruction in French was limited to two hours per day; in grades 4 to 9, instruction in French was limited to one hour per day. No mention was made of instruction in French beyond grade 9, except that Section 387 allowed a board to organize instruction "in a language other than English" over and above the regular course of study. This allowance was made for the children whose parents desired such instruction, but parents had to be willing to pay for it. In 1968, this section of the School Act was amended to permit the use of French as a language of instruction in grades 1 to 12. In all grades above grade 2, the new legislation permitted instruction in French for up to 50% of the school day. By 1970, Section 150 of the School Act empowered school boards to authorize the use of French as a language of instruction subject to the regulations of the Minister. In 1976, Alberta Regulation 287/70 was repealed and a new regulation (A. reg. 250/76) was adopted. This new regulation established a minimum requirement in English Language Arts for all schools as follows: that instruction in English Language Arts be given for minimum periods of not less than 1 hour/day at the grades 1 and 2 levels; not less than 190 hours/year at the grades 3 to 6 levels; not less than 150 hours/year at the grades 7 to 9 levels; and not less than 125 hours/year at the grades 10 - 12 levels (A Report by the Council of Ministers of Education, 1978, pp. 32-33).

Safeguards have been built into the School Act guaranteeing English rights while the minorities are left at the mercy of the majority at the local school board levels. For example, under Alberta Regulation 287/70, "The French Language Regulations" there is a clause which states as follows: "Satisfactory provisions shall be

made by the Board for instruction in English to all students whose parents or guardians desire such instruction" (Alberta Education, 1973, p. 19). Under the new regulation 250/76 this clause now specifies "arrangements satisfactory to the Minister are made for instruction in English to be given to all pupils whose parents so desire" (A Report by the Council of Ministers of Education, 1978, p. 33). In a hypothetical situation these safeguards could mean that even though over 95% of the student population at a particular grade level are Franco-Albertans, if 5% of the remaining population are English-speaking, and if their parents request instruction in English for their children what could possibly happen would be that the French-speaking students would be obliged to receive their instruction in English rather than French. As a result of not only limiting Regulations but also of the varying interpretations and practices of bilingual education in Alberta, the amount of instructional time in French may vary from school board to school board, and even from school to school within a given school jurisdiction.

Inconsistent Bilingual Education Practices in Alberta

An examination of data in the research report, Ecole Bilingue ou Unilingue pour les Franco-Albertains? disclosed that French instructional time ranged from a Language Arts course only being offered in French up to 50% of instructional time in French. Some schools in the early 1970's offered certain disciplines in French during one year and the same course of study was taught in English the following year. In some schools a discipline was taught half in French and half in English, or two-third in English and 1/3 in French.

In certain bilingual schools, at particular grade levels, the same program of studies was being offered in both English and French (Silla, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 176-303; Mabru, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 395-405). The problem with these inconsistent practices in French instructional time in bilingual schools in Alberta is that these practices could be conducive to the development of a form of negative or "subtractive" bilingualism which could be considered as a step toward assimilation.

D. SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

"Subtractive" bilingualism, as termed by Lambert, means that minority language children have not sufficiently developed first language skills. As a consequence, first language skills gradually become replaced by a more dominant and prestigious second language. The form of bilingualism which results is "subtractive" in that "the bilingual's competence in his two languages at any point in time is likely to reflect some stage in the subtraction of L1 and its replacement by L2" (Cummins, 1978, p. 401). Given that, prior to 1976, Alberta students in bilingual schools were receiving 50% or less of their education in French, this amount of time may not have been sufficient for developing the Franco-Albertan student's French language skills. Based on research evidence, Cummins concluded that "50 percent of the time in L1 seems insufficient to maintain pupils' French L1 skills in a situation where the influence and prestige of English is so pervasive." Cummins further explained that, under these circumstances, "children's desire and ability to speak French declines over the years" (p. 401).

In 1938, Hermas Bastien had noted that in Alberta the teaching

of French was deplorable because it was lacking in quantity and quality (1974, Vol. II, p. 40). The situation did not change that much in the years which followed. In 1961, Sister Jeanne Louise pessimisticly stated that the Alberta atmosphere was not favourable to a formation in French. The bilingual milieu, she explained, created more confusion in the minds of the young (1961, p. 98). A study carried out by Sister Edith Boucher in 1972 disclosed that young Franco-Albertans attending elementary schools were experiencing vocabulary difficulties, nouns were not known, and verbs were borrowed from English (1973). Studies by Bussière (1974), Jackson (1970), and McCalla (1974) have also demonstrated that Francophone students attending bilingual schools were experiencing linguistic difficulties in French and that these students tended to use English more than French. These linguistic problems in French were not only limited at the school level, but were also noticeable at the University level.

Two studies at the University level supported the findings of research done at the elementary and secondary school levels. Monod and Queyrane, after analyzing the written work of first and second year Franco-Albertan students taking French 201 and French 330 at the University of Alberta in 1971, concluded that the grammatical errors made by the students probably originated as a result of a lack of written exercises in French at the pre-University level (1974, Vol. II, p. 530). Kapetanovitch, a professor of French literature at Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean observed that the students in his classes experienced difficulties when speaking and writing in French. He particularly noticed that these weaknesses not only prevented his

students from expressing viewpoints and ideas in class, but also limited their comprehension of assigned readings (1974, Vol. II, pp. 408-411). This research demonstrates that Franco-Albertan students in the years prior to 1976 had been receiving a negative or subtractive form of bilingual education in Alberta's bilingual schools. In the section which follows factors are sought which may have limited the linguistic development of Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools. The overriding question explored in the following section is as follows: To what extent is the French-Canadian's lack of political power in education responsible for the devolution of The French Fact in Alberta?

PART II. THE FRANCO-ALBERTANS' LACK OF POLITICAL POWER IN EDUCATION

The adults of a society who have political power, naturally, want to pass on their "knowledge of the good" to their children. Thus the curriculum of the schools in society will be designed to transmit to the young "those principles and ideals that will direct them to wise decisions" that is, decisions which lead to the adult conception of the good life (Zais, 1976, p. 105). Carlton et al. have described the public educational systems in Western Canada as serving as "great levellers, homogenizers and agents of conformity" (1977, p. 120). These authors have further indicated that, even if no conscious effort has been made to assimilate cultural minorities, the school itself has frequently epitomized the "attractive power" of the dominant culture (p. 122). Carlton et al. further proposed that public education "may not only lack continuity with minority interests, but may oppose and challenge them" (p. 120). Within the framework of Alberta's bilingual

schools, several major factors can be identified which demonstrate the relationship between the "attractive power" of the dominant culture and the devolution of The French Fact. The two major factors discussed in this section are related to the teaching personnel in bilingual schools, and to the curriculum used in bilingual schools.

A. THE TEACHING PERSONNEL IN BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

Noel Bazinet noted, during the 1950's, that a great part of the problem in Alberta's bilingual education program was the lack of qualified personnel to teach in French (1974, Vol. II, p. 41). Even though l'Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta (l'A.C.F.A.) in conjunction with l'Association des Educateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta (l'A.E.B.A.) devoted special attention to placing competent teachers in bilingual schools and in assisting these teachers with special courses in pedagogy, religion, and French (Stanley, 1960, p. 333), the problem still remained that there was a penury of bilingual students interested in pursuing careers as bilingual teachers. In 1950, only 375 bilingual students were enrolled in Alberta at the Grade 10 - 12 levels. This small number of bilingual students indicates that the teaching profession would have had a very restricted number of teacher candidates to choose from. The bilingual teacher shortage was further compounded by the fact that, as members of l'A.E.B.A. had voiced at one of its meetings of the Executive on March 28, 1951, most young Catholics did not want to teach in bilingual schools because they had to teach religion and French. Students had not received training in these subjects at the University or Normal School level (Foex-Olson, 1974, Vol. II, p. 442). Foex-Olson suggested that being a bilingual

teacher was somewhat akin to being a missionary with a veritable social mission (p. 443). The problem of teacher training for bilingual schools has somewhat been rectified over the years with the pedagogy course offerings at Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean.

B. THE CURRICULUM FOR FRENCH INSTRUCTION IN BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

For many years, teachers in bilingual schools were faced with having to follow the directives of l'A.E.B.A. in matters concerning French instruction while, at the same time, they were obliged to follow the Department of Education's official program of studies. Prior to the 1960's when Alberta Education took over the responsibility for developing curriculum in French, l'A.E.B.A. planned and organized the curriculum for religion, French Language Arts and the History of Canada. The orientation of l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum developers was rooted in Roman Catholic traditions and beliefs. Their educational goal was to preserve and develop the Catholic spirit through education. Even prayers for the survival of the French-Canadian race found their way into the History of Canada curriculum (Foex-Olson, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 437-440). Probably one of the greatest problems facing bilingual educators during the 1950's and 1960's was dealing with tradition and change.

The Traditional French Curriculum

The curriculum developed by l'A.E.B.A. for use in Alberta's bilingual schools prior to the 1960's was based on a quasi-religious form of patriotism. Folklore and singing were used as patriotic educational instruments. Weeks such as "Les Semaines de la Fierté Nationale" were set aside in bilingual schools to promote the catholic

spirit of "la survivance." French-Canadian festivals sponsored by l'A.E.B.A. and other French-Canadian organizations attempted to bring the young and the old of a community together. A special ceremony with the Drapeau du Carillon Sacré Coeur, somewhat reminiscent of the actions carried out in Quebec in the early 1900's by l'Association Catholique de la Jeunesse canadienne-française who had popularized the hero-worshipping of myth-transformed historical characters, was used by the organizers of these festivals to create patriotic feelings among French-Canadians. The problem with l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum orientation was that it failed to provide a curriculum for evolving a modern, viable and dynamic French culture. Even though bilingual educators in Alberta may have been able to communicate ethnic values, customs and traditions in the centralized bilingual school classrooms, growing industrialization, urbanization and mass communications placed a greater demand upon the schools to prepare students for a wide range of life-styles and life-chances.

In the 1960's l'A.E.B.A. became concerned with the fact that bilingual schools were placing a greater emphasis on the Department of Education's program of studies, neglecting l'A.E.B.A.'s French curriculum. Teachers found a greater need to assist students to pass Department of Education examinations in the English language than to assist them in passing l'A.E.B.A.'s French examinations (pp. 443-457). Desson, in a study into The Academic Preparation and Fluency of Alberta High School Teachers of French, found that "Two out of three teachers of French conducted their classes mostly in English" and that only one of three teachers used French as the main language of instruction in their classes (1967, p. 94).

L'A.E.B.A. were well aware of situations such as the ones referred to above but, by virtue of their lack of political power in education, they had no control over French education in the province. The Department of Education did not supply the assistance of an inspector to visit the 350 classes where French was used as a language of instruction. As a result, l'A.E.B.A. approached the Department requesting permission to oversee instruction in French. But they were denied this authorization on the pretext that they lacked qualified personnel (Foex-Olson, 1974, Vol. II, p. 463). With no control over French programs in the province, French-Canadians were limited in making any decisions about what 'ought to be' the priorities in bilingual schools.

Even if changes had taken place under the School Act allowing for more instructional time in French, the full utilization of French in Alberta's bilingual schools during the 1960's was deemed by members of l'A.E.B.A. to be more of a myth than a reality (p. 456). In the years which followed, the dominant culture's curriculum became more attractive to the students in bilingual schools, many of whom were from different nationalities. In 1971-1972, for example, Mabru reported that approximately 33% of the student population in Alberta's bilingual schools were from non-Francophone backgrounds. At J. H. Picard, an Edmonton secondary bilingual school, an estimated one-third of the students came from milieu's other than French-speaking. At Ecole Grandin, an Edmonton elementary bilingual school, during 1971-1972 approximately 50% of the student population had had no contact with the French language prior to attending school (1974, Vol. II, pp. 131-132). The varying linguistic abilities in French-speaking

and non-Francophone students probably made the teacher's task easier to teach in English rather than French, especially if the teacher had not been trained to teach French in a bilingual school.

Given the ethnic composition of bilingual classrooms, one can only assume that a curriculum founded on God-centered traditions based on 'absolutes' and 'values' which were regarded as 'fixed' in traditional French-Canadian society conflicted with the world-view of the majority society being transplanted through the Department of Education's program of studies. A curriculum based on a quasi-religious form of patriotism and the French-Canadian's struggle for cultural and linguistic survival would more than likely have held no special 'meaning' to non-Francophone students. The availability of new life-styles and new life-chances through the vehicle of the English language, was more appealing to non-Francophone and Francophone students alike than a life-style based on the myth of the rural life and the French-Canadian's Providential mission.

Some French-Canadian parents, Sister Jeanne Louise observed, were afraid that their children would not known enough English (1961, pp. 33-34). Prince had found the same attitude to be prevalent among Franco-Manitoban parents. He stated,

> Obviously too many Franco-Manitobans are still apathetic. Too many parents have no idea of how important it is for their children to retain their mother tongue. In 1970 their attitudes and opinions are the same as if there had been no evolution in social thinking since they themselves attended school. These parents are under the impression that the lack of a perfect knowledge of English was a handicap to them. The facts are often quite the contrary. Their main handicap was the fact that they were unable to continue their education beyond the elementary stage (1972, p. 159).

Franco-Albertan parents' fears that their children could be limited

from societal life-chances often resulted in their lack of support for bilingual education. Today, as Leblanc pointed out, although the possibilities exist for the teaching in French, the young prefer English and the parents are reticent to claim rights which the new School Act now allows them (1972).

Changing Franco-Albertan Cultural Goals

From Silla's point of view, the mass of Franco-Albertans have become more interested in "la piastre" (the dollar) than pursuing French-Canadian cultural goals (1974, Vol. I, pp. 284-327). Mabru reported that by 1961, 57% of Alberta's Francophone population was urbanized (1974, Vol. I, p. 183). This mass rural exodus separated the Franco-Albertan from family and ethnic ties. Once urbanized, the Franco-Albertan no longer played the traditionally active role in his own ethnic group. He preferred, Silla explains, to become economically successful on his own in a more global society (1974, Vol. I, pp. 284-327). Materialism predominated in the Franco-Albertan's newly internalized value system. Cultural and ethnic ideals and interests have been rejected by many French-Canadians. This rejection can be demonstrated by the fact that, out of a population of 10,500 Francophone persons (French maternal tongue) of school age in Alberta during the 1971-1972 school term, 59.5% of these Francophone students were attending schools other than bilingual schools (Mabru, 1974, Vol. II, p. 131). For Franco-Albertan parents who still place a high value on the French language and culture, the only option for transmitting the French language to their children which they have is through the bilingual school system whose curriculum for French

instruction now originates from the Alberta Department of Education's Curriculum Branch.

The Evolution of the Concept of Bilingualism and the Curriculum

In the past, French-Canadians had an opportunity to transmit the French language and culture within the context of bilingual schools as bilingual teachers were required to follow the directives of l'A.E.B.A. for French instruction through French-Canadian societal pressures, and to follow the Department of Education's official program of studies for subject matter taught in English. L'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum, founded on a traditional French-Canadian world-view, became supplanted by new modes of thought evolving from the English culture which emphasized a system of values based on the notion of economic development as being conducive to the "good" life. In the process, the concept of bilingualism began to appeal to some English-speaking parents in Alberta who recognized the value of the French language for the socio-economic mobility of their children within the federal framework. With the growing concept of bilingualism at the federal level, the Alberta government has, since the late 1960's, been allocating more value to the French language. This fact is reflected in concessions which allow for more instructional time in French in schools operating under Section 150 of the School Act. Interestingly, while more concessions were being given for instructional time in French, l'A.E.B.A. lost control over curriculum development for instruction in French to the majority society. Alberta Education's Curriculum Branch, under Alberta Regulation 287/70 "The French Language Regulations", assumed the responsibility for prescribing the courses of study and the instructional materials for instruction in

French (Alberta Education, 1973, p. 19). Today, non-Francophones may be the ones benefitting the most from bilingual education.

Silla, after analyzing the bilingual education situation in Alberta, concluded that theoretically bilingualism may be an accommodation, a compromise and an arrangement; but in reality, it has become a phenomena for assimilating the weakest by the strongest, "Le bilinguisme devient ainsi le phénomène d'assimilation du plus faible par le plus fort" (1974, Vol. I, pp. 286-287). Silla bases his evidence on the fact that, even though bilingual institutions may be teaching subjects in French, they basically remain Anglophone institutions. He gave as examples the Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean and l'Ecole J. H. Picard where "la langue et l'ambiance restent anglophones." Further, he referred to the pedagogical materials such as books, records, films as being mainly Anglo-American (p. 431).

Assimilation, Joy states, proceeds through contact. Joy hypothesizes that French-Canadian children attending bilingual schools will almost invariably learn the language of their English-speaking playmates (1972, p. 34). Studies carried out in Alberta's bilingual schools since the 1970's by Bussière (1974), Jackson (1970), and McCalla (1974) tended to support Joy's hypothesis. Although a researcher might demonstrate that assimilation proceeds through contact between English and French-speaking students in bilingual schools, the question which still remains to be investigaged is "Why?" To what degree is the curriculum used in bilingual schools responsible for the Franco-Albertan students' poor linguistic performance? Are there other factors which could be responsible for the Franco-Albertan students' negative attitude toward French instruction?

Leblanc draws our attention to the fact that in the past when teaching was given in English, French-Canadian students used French in the schoolyard. He noticed that today this situation has been transformed. Students will receive instruction in French but play in English in the school yard (1972). In the past, as today, students from different ethnic groups make up the student population in bilingual schools. Why would the peer group situation have been transformed? One could assume that even though past schooling was in English, the French language was more valued by the young Franco-Albertan because it embodied a sense of unity and power at the family and community levels, giving it that special tenacity based on social experiences. Stanley described these experiences as follows:

> It was from the pulpit that the faith was taught in the tongue of France; it was at the church door that the faithful gathered to exchange views and impressions as did their cousins in the rural parishes along the St. Lawrence; it was in the churchyards that the crumbling tombstones stood--silent, perpetual reminders of the traditions of endurance and courage of the French fact; and close by was the parish hall, gathering place for parish fêtes, church suppers, and political meetings. Faith and language were the essentials of survival (1960, p. 332).

As these social experiences became supplanted with new life-styles and new social relations, the French language began to lose its tenacity. In 1951 a group of teachers from the district of St. Paul asked themselves, at a teachers' convention, if their students liked French. Upon reflecting on the question they concluded that their students did not like French as they should, "Non, nos élèves n'aiment pas le français comme ils le devraient" (Foex-Olson, 1974, pp. 455-456). One could assume that the past images of "endurance and courage of the French fact" (Stanley, 1960, p. 332) became transformed into images of inferiority of <u>The French Fact</u>. The words of the strong

may have carried more weight than the words of the weak. Indeed, as Berger theorizes, "very often the weak describe themselves in the words coined by the strong" (1976, p. 7). "Le complexe minoritaire" a word coined by the strong, has been internalized by the French-Canadians to the point where certain families, Silla noted, are ashamed to speak French (1974, Vol. II, p. 603). In an exploratory case study into the perceptions of a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students (see Chapter IV of this study) evidence seems to indicate that young Franco-Albertans are ashamed of speaking French, mainly because of their poor linguistic abilities, and they have developed feelings of inferiority in the face of the majority thereby making the English culture more attractive. The French-Canadian's linguistic rights under law may have been battered, broken and breached; but, as Stanley wrote, "behind the miracle of French survival in western Canada was the remarkable tenacity of the French Fact" (1960, p. 331). Herein lies a paradox. With modifications to the School Act since the 1960's which permit increased instructional time in French, the tenacity of The French Fact in Franco-Albertan society began to lose its strength.

One could assume that to a certain extent l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum for French instruction helped to maintain a sense of unity among Franco-Albertans. By 1968, l'A.E.B.A. lost direct control over curriculum development for French instruction after having, for a period of approximately thirty years, acted as its own Department of Education in matters concerning French instruction. The tasks undertaken by l'A.E.B.A. for a period of thirty years were not easy. The educators involved with this organization were basically volunteers who were often bilingual teachers themselves. L'A.E.B.A. had to

resolve problems such as selecting content materials for students who were at different levels in French; they prepared and evaluated l'A.E.B.A.'s provincial French examinations; they evaluated French programs and piloted new methodologies for the teaching of French; they had to pressure institutions into offering teacher preparation courses in the area of French; they had to oversee the implementation of French curriculum in schools; they organized cultural activities, and served as a link between the schools and the parents.

After 1968, as a result of the Department of Education taking over the responsibility for curriculum development in the area of French, l'A.E.B.A. devoted its energies to the promotion of the French culture in Alberta, in organizaing work-shops for bilingual teachers, etc. Even though this organization continues to exist, it has seemingly, been supplanted by "Le Conseil Français de l'Alberta Teachers' Association," which is officially recognized by the Department of Education. L'A.E.B.A.'s defunct role in the area of curriculum development for instruction in French created much confusion in the minds of bilingual educators. The main problem underlying bilingual educators' confusion was brought about by the fact that l'A.E.B.A. was not officially recognized by the Department of Education. At a general meeting of l'A.E.B.A. in March of 1974, confusion still prevailed while members attempted to make a distinction between their goals and the goals pursued by le Conseil Français. Making any distinction was difficult because both associations seemed to be concerned with the promotion of the French language and culture (Foex-Olson, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 476-478). Underlying this confusion was, probably, the fact that French-Canadian educators were slowly coming to the realization

that they had lost the power to make decisions in the area of French instruction for Alberta's bilingual schools.

At present, policies affecting French instruction in Alberta have to be filtered through the Department of Education's administrative structure, a structure over which French-Canadians have no control. This situation is a direct outcome of the fact that at the Department of Education level, there exists "no separate administration or provision for the bilingual schools as such" (Nicholchuk, 1974, Vol. II, p. 48). Bilingual education falls under the jurisdiction of the Associate Director for Languages, Dr. P. A. Lamoureux,

> who is responsible for all second-language learning in the province, in addition to the bilingual program. The specific purpose of his position is the facilitation of Section 150 of the School Act, and the coordination of the development, diffusion and adoption of second language programs (p. 48).

The Curriculum Branch, Nicholchuk informs, is basically concerned with program development. The Field Services Branch which are mainly concerned with dissemination and implementation of programs have no personnel "specifically for the bilingual schools, but some work has been done by their representatives within the bilingual rural schools, although it has been carried out in the English language" (p. 49). By virtue of l'A.E.B.A. losing their power in education, the majority culture now has the power to influence, change, modify, or in some way determine and delimit the Alberta curriculum that offers instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act.

C. THE ETUDES SOCIALES CURRICULUM

When a group of bilingual educators were invited to participate on the Junior High Etudes Sociales Ad Hoc Committee in 1974 (see

Chapter I for more details), they operated under the jurisdiction of the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education. The Department of Education may establish subject matter or policy committees which can appoint ad hoc committees, subject to ratification by the Director of Curriculum, to "prepare curriculum guides which are published and distributed by the Curriculum Branch" (Thornton, 1974, pp. 7-8). According to the Alberta Department of Education's definition of ad hoc committees, "Ad hoc committees consist of members appointed by the Curriculum Branch. Such ad hoc committees are disbanded immediately upon the completion of the task assigned" (p. 9). The Etudes Sociales Junior High Ad Hoc Committee had the task of developing a curriculum guide which would "help teachers implement an appropriate program in classes where French is used as a language of instruction" (Alberta Education, Minutes of Meeting, February 8, 1974). Given the existing administrative structure of Alberta Education and its definitions of curriculum guides and courses of study, an "appropriate" curriculum did not mean a curriculum designed to further French-Canadian societal-cultural goals based on the needs, aspirations and expectations of Franco-Albertans, but rather an "appropriate" curriculum meant a curriculum adapted in the French language designed to attract young Franco-Albertans to the majority's societal-cultural goals.

Curriculum Guides and Courses of Study

Curriculum guides "are service publications and are not prescriptive except where they duplicate what is contained in the course of study" (Thornton, 1974, p. 2). Included in the curriculum guides are normally,

a) course content spelled out in great detail

b) suggestions regarding methodology

c) suggestions regarding time schedules

d) lists of many types of instructional aides and community resources

e) lists of equipment such as necessary laboratory equipment (p. 2).

Courses of study are "the only prescriptive curriculum documents developed by the Curriculum Branch and issued by the Department of Education" and usually include only

a) the objectives of each course

b) the content for each course stated quite generally

c) a list of recommended textbooks (if such are required in the course) (p. 2).

The definitions of "curriculum guides" and "courses of study" delimited the role of the Junior High Ad Hoc Committee members. By virtue of the existence of the Alberta Social Studies Program, the objectives and the content for the Etudes Sociales curriculum had already been predetermined prior to the Ad Hoc Committee's formation by groups of educators and Department of Education personnel from the majority culture. A recent statement made by an Alberta Education representative at an Ad Hoc Committee meeting for Social Studies 1 - 2 - 3 (French) on February 27 and 28, 1978 in Edmonton, Alberta, demonstrates how the majority culture has become dominant in the area of curriculum development for French instruction. The Ad Hoc Committee members were informed that

> There should NOT be two programs. The rationale should be the same for both French and English. Both groups should be going in the same direction. Certainly resources will be different (Alberta Education, Minutes of Meeting, February 27-28, 1978, p. 2).

The Committee members were further advised that they would have to "translate the English documents as they are received" and do some "adaptation" work (p. 6). This recent pronouncement could be interpreted either as being a matter of administrative expediency or as a move by Alberta Education to make it explicit that bilingual French-Canadian educators have to use the majority's curriculum for French minority education. An implication of the majority's dominance in curriculum decision-making affecting instruction in French may be that, those making major curriculum decisions for bilingual education may not be aware of the problems of bilingual education and of the needs of Francophone and non-Francophone students in a bilingual school setting.

The Alberta Social Studies Rationale and Franco-Albertans

The philosophical basis of the Alberta Social Studies is premised on the assumption that the school must help students in their quest for a clear, consistent and defensible system of values. Students are to be given an opportunity to explore and assess the nature of values that influence their personal and social lives and to develop their ability to make decisions about themselves and their roles as active participants in their physical and social environments (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, p. 10). Given the nature of the development and identification of The French Fact in Western Canada and the clericalism which reflected itself in the orientation of l'A.E.B.A. who, until approximately the mid-1960's were responsible for developing the curriculum for French instruction in Alberta's bilingual schools, the philosophical basis of the Alberta Social Studies would appear to be in conflict with the traditional

French-Canadian Weltanschauung or world-view.

Knowledge, from a traditional French-Canadian perspective was revealed to man and not discovered by man. The traditional French-Canadian curriculum viewed students as passive receivers of knowledge. Students were not given the opportunity to explore and assess the nature of values. Values were regarded as 'fixed' or 'givens' to be transmitted to the students by the legitimizers of culture. This comparison implies that the English-Canadian world-view may be founded on a different ontological, epistemological and axiological position than the French-Canadian world-view. Of course, based on Bilodeau (1974) and Silla's (1974) understandings, the traditional French-Canadian value system has, since the 1940's, been transformed. One could argue that even if the French-Canadian's value system has been transformed and this transformation can be demonstrated by the French-Canadian's life-style, more than likely traditional modes of thought may still be submerged in the Franco-Albertan's cognitive and normative view of reality. Evidence which would tend to support this hypothesis could be drawn from the interpretations given to the theme The French Fact by the Junior High and the Upper Elementary Ad Hoc Committee members because it is possible to find, in the Etudes Sociales Curriculum Guides, knowledge about The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective (see Chapter I, Footnote 1).

Implied in a traditional historical-clerical perspective of The French Fact is a basic desire to preserve French-Canadian cultural norms, values, beliefs, ideals and assumptions. Traditional French-Canadian history was a nationalist history whose purpose was to unite

the French-Canadian collectivity and to develop its sense of national destiny. "La survivance" was the central theme of this nationalist history. Further, traditional French-Canadian history, in the years following Garneau's Histoire du Canada (1845), supported the interest of the Catholic Church. As a consequence, the history of French-Canada was impregnated with ideologies, myths and false images of reality. Approaching the theme, The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective appears to be in contradiction with the ideals, assumptions and goals pursued in the Alberta Social Studies.

By introducing The French Fact to students from a traditional historical-clerical perspective teachers may limit students from developing decision-making skills and problem-solving abilities. The Alberta Social Studies goals aim at helping students come to know their own ideas and feelings as well as those of their peers and the adult generation. Hopefully, students will be able to deal not only with "what is" but also with "what ought to be" (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, p. 10). An analysis of the following value question at the grade 4 level which is basically concerned with "what was" and which could give students a false image of past reality is as follows: "Aurais-tu aimé vivre dans la brousse comme un enfant métis? Explique-toi?" ("Would you have liked to have lived in 'brushwood' like the métis child? Explain yourself?"). The overall problem with such a question is that it implies that all métis children lived in 'brushwood' creating a false image of what may have been the métis child's experiences. One cannot help but wonder how this kind of an inquiry will assist Grade 4 students in developing

social science concepts or in developing cognitive skills. Further, one could ask what the relationship is between this kind of knowledge and the Franco-Albertan students' social situation. How will this kind of a value question assist students in acquiring "those skills they will need as intelligent shapers of their world?" (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, p. 10).

At the grade 7 level students are introduced to the history of New France up to and including the 1837 Rebellion (see Chapter I, Footnote 1). Under the reference section in the Guide pédagogique à l'usage des professeurs des études sociales de la 7e, 8e et 9e année, a text by Frère Charles and Frère Léon, Notre Héritage Canadien 1 & 2 has been listed (1975, p. 11). If a classroom teacher were to use this text for the study of New France and the history of the French-Canadians after the Conquest students would be introduced to ideologies, values and assumptions which could give them a false impression of French-Canadian man. The idea that the Church was empowered by God or the Divine Providence to lead French-Canadians to their destiny or to carry out their mission, prevailed in this history. The image of a model man or the 'ideal' hero was usually projected as being an obedient servant of the Church who submitted himself to its authority and power; man only acts upon his world as a consequence of revelations and not as a result of his own free will. How, one could ask would knowledge about New France and French-Canadian history up to 1837 from a clerical perspective assist students in evaluating, synthesizing and applying "pertinent data in the solving" of social problems? (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, p. 13).

Interestingly, at both the Junior High and the Upper Elementary Ad Hoc Committee meetings some of the Committee members expressed that they did not wish to indoctrinate students into traditional thought forms and values as had been done in the past in French-Canadian Church-controlled institutions. The idea that a system of values should not be imposed upon the students was made explicit in the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides as follows:

> Pour aider l'étudiant à prendre conscience des phénomènes de l'homme dans le monde, sans lui imposer des valeurs au sujet des sociétés passées, présentes et futures, le programme d'études sociales doit offrir à l'étudiant l'occasion d'étudier différents systèmes d'organisation sociale (1975, p. II; 1977, p. II).

Of course, as already explained, approaching The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective could more than likely result in some form of indoctrination and control of students' choices.

The Ad Hoc Committee members ideal conception of man was that of an individual who could actively and consciously participate in his ever-changing social reality. The group's perception of man as an active being was made explicit in the Preface of the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides as follows:

> En outre, dans les écoles bilingues nous poursuivons le but de développer des élèves qui pourront s'exprimer en deux langues. De plus, comme professeurs, nous réalisons que les sociétés locale, albertaine, canadienne et internationale, obligent l'étudiant à se réadapter continuellement. Le jeune d'aujourd'hui est appelé à faire face à une réalité toujours changeante. Cette réalité lui impose des choix de plus en plus nombreux. Si nous voulons que nos étudiants soient en mesure de faire face à cette réalité, le programme d'études sociales doit les sensibiliser à leur 'réalité sociale". Il doit aussi permettre à l'élève de comprendre les phénomènes sociaux et lui fournir les moyens et l'occasion de prendre position face à ces derniers. Enfin, il doit les encourager à participer consciemment à la vie (1975, II; 1977, p. II).

The intentions of the Ad Hoc Committee members which were made explicit in the Preface of the curriculum guides when compared to the value-questions they formulated for approaching The French Fact at the Grades 4, 5 and 7 levels are contradictory. One got the impression at the Ad Hoc Committee meetings that some individuals had an interest in maintaining traditional French-Canadian culture while others were interested in modernizing French-Canadian thought forms. The principles, values and beliefs underlying the thinking of the Committee members with an interest in change who were responsible for the formulation of the value-questions at the Grades 6, 8 and 9 levels (see Chapter I, Footnote 2) appeared to be more congruent with the philosophical basis of the Alberta Social Studies.

An analysis of the value-questions included under the theme The French Fact at the Grades 6, 8 and 9 levels from a cultural and linguistic survival perspective disclosed that the overall content under these themes placed a heavy emphasis on Acts which have given the French-Canadians linguistic and cultural rights and privileges. What seems to have been neglected in the substantive content are the social, political, economic and psychological forces or determinants underlying the Acts themselves. In order for students in bilingual schools to understand Acts of this nature, substantive concepts would have to be developed. These concepts would then have to be filtered through value concepts so that generalizations could be drawn by the students about their own social situation. Acts, by themselves, will more than likely not provide Franco-Albertan students with "ways and means of dealing with social problems" (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, p. 14). If Franco-Albertan students are to

maintain, and possibly to evolve The French Fact in Alberta, they will require knowledge and skills which could give them a sense of direction on how to proceed if they wish to have their cultural and linguistic rights recognized and respected by the majority society. At the Grade 8 level one finds the following value-question: "Comment peux-tu défendre la situation bilingue dans ton milieu?" ("How can you defend the bilingual situation in your milieu?") The following concepts have been listed for approaching this value-question: "AANB Section 133; Acte des L.O. (1968); Laurandeau - Dunton; Bilinguisme-Biculturalisme; Bill 22; Section 150 (Alberta); Commission Worth; Situation Albertaine" (1975, p. 24). The concepts selected are Acts, therefore as pieces of factual information these Acts do not have the "power to organize and synthesize large numbers of relationships, specific facts, and ideas" (Banks, 1974, p. 403).

The Alberta Social Studies approaches knowledge from the scientific method. The Social Studies presumes that students can derive knowledge in the form of facts, concepts, generalizations and theories, that is they can derive knowledge by the method of social science inquiry or social inquiry (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, pp. 13-14). What became evident after analyzing and reflecting upon the value-questions and the concepts in the Etudes Sociales curriculum under the theme, The French Fact at the Grades 4 to 9 levels was that some of the French-Canadian Etudes Sociales curriculum developers perceived social knowledge as being derived from sources other than the scientific method. The method of tenacity "Here men hold firmly to the truth, the truth that they know to be true because they hold firmly to it, because they have

always known it to be true" (Banks, 1974, p. 14) seems to have influenced the Etudes Sociales curriculum developers' cognitive view of knowledge, reality and values. Knowledge about The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective appears to be based on the method of tenacity. The assumption which seems to underlie the value-questions and concepts is that the French language and culture will more than likely survive if French-Canadians hold on firmly to past traditions, customs, values, beliefs and assumptions. Banks cautioned that decisions made on the basis of knowledge derived by intuition or tradition do not satisfy the criterion of rationality (p. 18). According to Banks, the method of tenacity "is not an effective way of gaining knowledge because man is capable of believing and holding firmly to almost anything imaginable" (p. 14). If it could be empirically demonstrated that French-Canadians derive and organize knowledge about their world from a different paradigm or from a different philosophical basis than the one made explicit in the Alberta Social Studies, then what could be the implications for classroom practice of this conflict of world-views?

The Nature of Bilingual Classrooms and the Curriculum

Up to this point while analyzing conceptualizations of The French Fact in the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides, an emphasis was placed on the meaning of these conceptualizations for young Franco-Albertan students. If we take into consideration the aims and objectives of bilingual education as outlined in the publication Bilingual Education, The Alberta Experience, then, we could ask of the Etudes Sociales curriculum, "How have the curriculum developers come to terms with these aims and objectives for both Francophone and non-

Francophone students?" The aims and objectives of bilingual education in Alberta are as follows:

> The primary thrust of bilingual education for children who do not speak English as a native language should be that of helping the child to develop an awareness of and a pride in his culture and an understanding of the culture of the majority society while simultaneously learning to communicate effectively in his own language as well as in English. For the English-speaking child, bilingual education should enable him to become aware of and to develop an appreciation for the cultural group whose language he is learning while gaining fluency in this language as well as his own (1973, p. 10).

As explained earlier in this study, the Ad Hoc Committee members had an interest in either maintaining or evolving the French language and culture. When Alberta Education invited a group of bilingual French-Canadian educators to develop Etudes Sociales curriculum guides, Alberta Education more than likely had an interest in developing a curriculum which would assist both Francophones and non-Francophones in bilingual schools to gain fluency in the French language. Given the existing administrative structure at the Department of Education and given that Franco-Albertans lack political power in education, one must assume that Alberta Education's intention was not directed at evolving the French culture but, rather, in helping students in bilingual schools develop an awareness and an appreciation of French-Canadian culture. A viable and dynamic French-Canadian culture in Alberta was taken for granted by the curriculum developers but, as it has been demonstrated in this chapter, The French Fact was conceptualized by a small group of French-Canadians from different perspectives. Underlying each perspective was a definite set of multiple societal-cultural goals which did not seem to be congruent. These multiple societal-cultural goals became translated into the Etudes Sociales curriculum. As a consequence, the Etudes

Sociales curriculum has been based on implicit, unexamined, ideological, and unconscious assumptions about the nature of students in bilingual schools.

The Ad Hoc Committee members in their discussions at meetings indicated that the needs of students in bilingual schools varied from the needs of students in unilingual schools. Consideration was given to the question of linguistic development and social development in a bilingual milieu. The concerns of the Committee were made explicit as follows in the Preface of the Etudes Sociales curriculum:

> En outre, dans les écoles bilingues nour poursuivons le but de développer des élèves qui pourront s'exprimer en deux langues. De plus, comme professeurs, nous réalisons que les sociétés locale, albertaine, canadienne et internationale, obligent l'étudiant à se réadapter continuellement . . . . le programme d'études sociales doit les sensibiliser à leur "réalité sociale" (1975, p. II; 1977, II).

The problem with this statement is that it is not a prescriptive statement as it is superimposed by the Alberta Social Studies rationale which does not recognize the linguistic and cultural duality of certain of its schools. A recognition that "our society becomes more and more pluralistic" does not necessarily mean that schools 'ought' to reflect pluralism, or in the case of bilingual schools, the cultural and linguistic duality of Canadian society (Responding to Change, 1973, p. 5).

Taba wrote, "Education must help people think collectively about social ends" (1962, p. 45). The Etudes Sociales curriculum reflects only in part the kinds of problems which must be dealt with if Social Studies educators are to assist all students attending bilingual schools in thinking about social ends. Unless social goals are made more explicit and congruent within the curriculum for

bilingual schools, the concept of bilingual education will be susceptible to the most whimsical of influences.

Obsolete Concepts and the Curriculum for Bilingual Schools

An inquiry into the relationship between the development and evolution of an identification of The French Fact in Quebec and in Western Canada and the Etudes Sociales curriculum disclosed that, even though the religious content of the French-Canadian's national destiny may have been removed from the traditional historical-clerical perspective, the religious exaltations of "la race" and "la nation" have remained. Given the nature of Albertan society, assumptions about French-Canadian society from a traditional approach may be obsolescent. If the concepts of "la race" and "la nation" and all the assumptions which once gave order and meaning to French-Canadian society in Western Canada have been responsible for the devolution of The French Fact, then how could these concepts help Franco-Albertan students develop an awareness of and a pride in their culture while at the same time help English-speaking students attending bilingual schools develop an appreciation for French-Canadians as a cultural group? If the historical approach to The French Fact is to be used, the approach should be more scientific and objective. For example, contemporary interpretations of French-Canadian history written by historians like Michel Brunet, Maurice Séguin, Marcel Trudel, Fernard Ouellet, Guy Frégault and Jean Hamelin could be more conducive to the development of the aims and objectives of bilingual education in Alberta.

Whether we interpret The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective, a contemporary historical perspective,

or from some form of cultural-linguistic survival perspective, on a long term basis, the interpretation may not really make that much of a difference in our society. What could make a difference in our society would be a commitment to "develop young people who will seek to improve the society" (Tyler, 1941, p. 35). Improving society would require the recognition of more than the fact that "our society becomes more and more pluralistic" but the fact that historically our society was a pluralistic society. Given the social situation of Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools, improving society would imply the majority society's willingness to cooperate with these young people, once they have found out how to live and what to live for, "to make this world a more desirable place in which to live" (Responding to Change, 1973, p. 5). As outlined by Meisel, required change of will can come about only if three conditions are met: (1) We must gain a realistic understanding of the conditions under which the country can survive. (2) We shall have to develop the wish to bring about the needed conditions. (3) We must have the capacity to act on the basis of the wish. Meisel further adds that acting on a realistic understanding of our problems and our wish to survive may require us to change our fundamental values. "It is possible, of course, that the will is there but that we are simply unable to act upon it. One major reason for this paralysis arises from our value system" (1977, p. 8).

SUMMARY

The development and identification of The French Fact in education in Alberta was determined and delimited by the changing

political power structure and by the French-Canadian's own messianic and agrarian traditions. At the turn of the century, the French-Canadians' political, economic and social status paralleled their political power in education. As the French-Canadians gradually lost their influence in the political and economic spheres, their rights to French instruction became reduced to privileges and permissions by an ever increasing number of English-speaking Protestant settlers.

In this Chapter the following factors were identifed as underlying the development of "negative" or "subtractive" bilingualism in education which may have influenced the devolution of The French Fact in Alberta:

1. The French-Canadian's priorization of religion over language.
2. The centralization of small rural schools.
3. The lack of viable post-secondary French or bilingual teacher training institutions.
4. Majority safeguards built into legislation under Section 150 of the School Act.
5. The lack of and inconsistency of instructional time in French in designated bilingual schools.
6. The lack of a proper official administrative structure to oversee French instruction in bilingual schools.
7. The attractive power of the dominant culture's curriculum versus a traditional curriculum developed by l'A.E.B.A. which integrated language development with a form of quasi-religious patriotism founded on French-Canadian myths and ideologies legitimized by the Roman Catholic Church.
8. Problems related to the pursuit of dual societal-cultural goals in bilingual schools--goals derived from the Department of Education's Program of Studies which required the passing of departmental examinations in English and "la survivance" goals pursued by l'A.E.B.A.
9. The ethnic heterogeneity of bilingual classrooms which created problems in terms of varying levels of student linguistic performance.

10. The eventual loss of control by the French-Canadians over their educational institutions.

11. Changing life-styles and life-chances as a result of industrialization and urbanization which resulted in the disintegration of the French-Canadian family unit and community.

12. The Franco-Albertan's belief in the myth that an overemphasis on French language learning limited his economic chances.

13. Psychological barriers created by the myth of the "minority complex."

As the above referred to factors were paralleling the Franco-Albertans' loss of political power in education, the concept of institutional bilingualism began to influence policy-making at the provincial level. This concept resulted in legislation which allowed for an increase in instructional time in French.

An increase in instructional time in French and an Etudes Sociales curriculum containing multiple societal-cultural goals--goals based on different sets of assumptions, values, beliefs and ideals with each set designed to attract students in bilingual schools to a particular philosophy of life--will not help Franco-Albertan students maintain and evolve their culture nor will it assist non-Francophone students to develop a tolerant and open-minded view of French-Canadians. Educational institutions do not operate in a vacuum. In the past, the dominant force in Franco-Albertan society was religion. The French language was encouraged in schools by the legitimizers of French culture who saw language as a device for religious survival. Today, the attractive power of the English culture dominates in Franco-Albertan society. The French language is being used by those with power in education as a means of attracting French-Canadians and non-Francophones to the majority norms, values, beliefs and assumptions. What is needed for bilingual schools is a curriculum which not only

recognizes the plurality of our Canadian society, but also its linguistic and cultural duality.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXPLORATORY CASE STUDY INTO THE PERCEPTIONS OF GRADE 9 FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS

PART I. BACKGROUND TO THE CASE STUDY

At the request of the Social Studies, Junior High (French) Ad Hoc Committee, a six week module, "Nous Sommes Franco-Albertains"[1] was developed. The Committee was interested in gaining a better understanding as to how Franco-Albertan students perceived themselves as members of a minority group before finalizing the Junior High Etudes Sociales Curriculum Guide. The module was piloted by some of the Committee members in their Grade 9 bilingual classrooms in Edmonton, Donnelly, Bonnyville and St. Paul during the months of May and June of 1975. Only the St. Paul group completed the module before the end of the school term. The students' final assignment, in the module, was an essay giving them a choice between the concepts "assimilation" and "integration." The data reported in this Chapter are based on 55 essays written in June of 1975 by a group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students attending a bilingual school in St. Paul, Alberta.

Because of the small student population involved in this exploratory case study, the conclusions in this Chapter are not generalizable to all Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools in Alberta. In Research Concepts in Human Behavior,

Helmstadter states that a great advantage of the case study approach is that it can be used as producer of ideas, suggestions, and hypothesis about behavior and that,

> It seems almost an absolutely essential technique when exploring completely new fields. That is, when we have no idea of the communalities, the categories of variables which play a part in a situation, and where we are trying to formulate new concepts or a new framework within which to carry out controlled experiments later (1970, p. 53).

Thus, the information in this Chapter should be viewed as a basis or a starting point for generating some hypothesis or for raising issues which could be investigated in follow-up studies.

The reason for selecting the essay form as a final assignment, after the completion of the module, "Nous Sommes Franco-Albertains", was based on a tentative expectation. If young Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools were experiencing linguistic difficulties, as suggested by Bussière, 1974; Jackson, 1970; McCalla, 1974; there would be certain factors underlying these problems. These factors could be revealed if students were given an opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings about their language and culture in written form. Michaelis describes essays as being useful in obtaining evidence on,

> Attitudes, problems, and issues, and such processes as synthesizing ideas, analyzing causes and other elements, evaluating decisions, and interpreting data. They are also used to assess skill in organizing and summarizing information, applying principles, and describing significant events, persons and places. The element of free response frequently gives clues not secured by objective devices (1976, pp. 475-476).

Taylor, Simard and Aboud in "Ethnic Identification in Canada: a Cross-Cultural Investigation" have discounted asking students questions like "What are you?" These questions are not likely, they suggest, to provide clear information about the nature of the student's ethnic

identity. Series of direct questions in which the student is expected to answer in a categorical Yes - No fashion to questions such as: "Are you a Canadian?" "Are you a Montrealer?" also do not provide answers to deep student feelings and attitudes. This approach, the authors explain, is subject to response bias and does not allow for a measure of relative strength of identity where multiple identities exist. Further, it is difficult, according to these authors, to determine what the more salient identification of the student is (1972, pp. 13-20).

By using the essay form the students, given a choice between different cultural and linguistic life-styles would either directly or indirectly reveal some of the more salient features of their personal and group identifications. Hennings and Grant advise that, in choosing among options, the essayist is involved to some extent in comparison. First he identifies the attributes of the options "then he goes a step further and interjects his personal view, jumping the gap between factual analysis and subjective determination" (1973, p. 29). According to Krathwohl, et al. the written work of students such as essays, can be used to test for preference for a value.

> Behavior at this level implies not just the acceptance of a value to the point of being willing to be identified with it, but the individual is sufficiently committed to the value to pursue it, to seek it out, to want it (1973, p. 145).

By interjecting personal views in the essay the small group of Franco-Albertan students would, probably, be expressing opinions and beliefs about (a) their preference for certain values, (b) the goodness-badness, the rightness-wrongness underlying their value position, (c) their loyalty to a position, group or cause, and (d) the kinds of actions or involvement they would be willing to undertake in order to deepen their commitment to the preferred value. These

concerns provided a set of criteria for guiding evaluation of the essays. For the purpose of sorting out the raw data from the essays, the following analytic categories were used:

1. How a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students identified themselves.

2. How a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived themselves in relation to their milieu.

3. How a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived the members of their own culture.

4. How a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived the majority society.

5. How a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived their possible future.

Evaluation Procedures

Each essay was examined for statements which might fall within any of the five categories described above. Each student's essay had been given a number from 1 to 55 for identification purposes. The student's number, first name, and any applicable statements were listed under the appropriate categories. The statements listed under each category were then compared with each other in order to identify similarities and differences. Subcategories were developed based on the similarities within each category and, the students' statements were transferred into the appropriate subcategories. Next, a tally was made of the total number of students whose statements fell within a minimum of 51% (28 students out of 55) of the statements within these subcategories. These value preferences were deemed to be representative of the group. Statements under each subcategory were

next examined against each student's essay in order to determine a student's consistency of choice. The criterion Krathwohl suggested was used for determining whether or not the student has a preference for a value (1973, p. 147).

Statements indicating the student's loyalty to a position, group or cause or the kinds of actions he would willingly undertake to deepen his hypothetical commitment or involvement with his preferred value were then sought. Any statements to this effect which were found were matched to the student's choice under the relevant sub-categories. A tally was again taken of students under each subcategory who demonstrated consistency of choice. If 80% of the students under each subcategory demonstrated a consistency of choice between their preferred value and their positions, actions, and commitments, this subcategory was considered to be representative for reporting in this Chapter in terms of descriptive statements under a given category. The term used in reporting these results under each category is "the majority of the students."

Under each of the five categories are descriptive statements and a small sample of student's statements. The reason for including a sample of the students' statements was to convey to the reader (a) the flavour of the students' writing-style as it demonstrates some of the grammatical, vocabulary and cognitive problems which this small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students attending a St. Paul bilingual school seem to be experiencing in French, (b) a sample of a small group of Franco-Albertan students' emotional responses to a value preference which demonstrates the complexity of their social-psychological situation resulting from their minority status. A short discussion of

the findings is presented after the representative data has been reported for all the five categories.

PART II. FINDINGS

A. HOW FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES

All of the 55 students explicitly stated that they were proud to be French-Canadians or Franco-Albertans and that they did not wish to become assimilated into the majority culture. These students felt that their language and culture meant too much to them on a personal basis to be discarded.

> Student No. 2
> Moi, pour ajourd'hui et pour toujours je préfère de ne pas m'assimiler au groupe majoritaire, les anglais. Si je m'assimilerait je ne serait pas contente. Je ne serait pas moi. Toutes les coutumes que j'aimes dans la culture française je ne les auraient plus (Thérèse, sic).

> Student No. 3
> Je n'aimerais pas m'assimiler au groupe majoritaire anglophone parce que j'ai trop de fierté à garder ma langue française (Ubald, sic).

> Student No. 5
> Moi, je suis Canadienne française, pourquoi changer? S'il fallait que je m'assimilerais ça ne serais pas à mon intention. Si des oiseaux avec des euphonies mélodieuses changent leur voix ou leur manière de chanter à cause de divers oiseaux qui apparaissent plus fortes qu'elles, elles seraient désolés pour avoir manifestés leur ignorance. . . . Alors nous sommes canadiens français et moi je suis fière d'être française. Vive le français! (Elaine, sic).

Even though every student in the sample placed a high value on the French language and culture, "the majority" (more than half) displayed an awareness that they were living in two competing cultural and linguistic realities. The "majority" stated that they were proud to be bilingual. Most students placed a high value on being able to speak English and to share in the majority culture. There was a

realization among students that they have a tendency to speak English at school, with friends, and even at home if their parents did not make any effort to remind them to speak French. This tendency towards English troubled many students. These students expressed fears of eventually losing their language.

Student No. 9
Moi, je suis fier d'être qui je suis. Une Canadienne Française, une M (family name) et je voudrais pas être quelqu'un d'autre. Dans ma vie ça devient plus en plus important de tenir ma culture française. Des fois je suis completement anglaise quand je suis avec mes amies, aussi des fois je suis completement français quand je suis avec ma grand-mère ou des personnes qui parlent le français . . . . quand c'est le jour de l'an et toute la famille est rassembler chez la maison de ma grand-mère et toute le monde parle le français, partout tu entends des vois en l'air heureuse. Tout le monde est entourer de joie et c'est a cette moment lâ que je suis heureux d'être français et d'être toujours français (Yolande, sic).

Student No. 23
Maintenant je me vois la moitié française et la moitié anglaise. J'aimerais rester comme ceci. Quand j'étais au grade 1 je connaissais pas un mot d'anglais et maintenant j'ai peur que dans quelques années je parlerais plus d'anglais et un peu de français (Yvette, sic).

Student No. 24
Je me vois beaucoup français mais pas parfaitement français. Il y a des choses que je fait en des manières anglaise (Richard, sic).

Student No. 36
Pour moi j'aime à parler les deux langue (Pauline, sic).

Student No. 39
Je voudrais être moitié française et moitié anglais pour trouver toute la richesse des deux langues (Joanne, sic).

Student No. 45
C'est important d'avoir la langue française comme c'est important d'avoir la langue anglaise, Italienne et les autres . . . . Pour moi le français et l'anglais sont aussi important (Bernadette, sic).

Student No. 5
Je me tiendrai debout sur mes deux pieds pour montré que je suis fière de ma langue, même si je ne parle pas le français trop souvent (Elaine, sic).

Student No. 25
Mes parents me parlent en français. J'ai l'habitude de parler anglais et je répond en anglais. Je me dit je vais commencer à parler le français tout de suite mais je ne peux pas. C'est comme fummer, la personne qui veux arreter dit toujours demain je vais arreter, et le lendemain il est encore après fummer et il dit demain je vais arreter. C'est comme ça le français au Canada (Francine, sic).

Only one student gave a definition of what it means to be a French-Canadian. This student suggested that a "real" French-Canadian, is someone who speaks French with facility and who tries to do something in order to guarantee the well-being of future generations.

Student No. 7
Un vrais Canadien-français pour moi, est quelqu'un qui parlent sont français bien facilement et qui essai de faire quelque chose pour le bien-être des générations après lui (Madeleine, sic).

B. FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR MILIEU

The "majority" of the students viewed their milieu, (their community and their bilingual school) as agents of cultural and linguistic assimilation. From the statements expressed by the students, they seem to be undergoing feelings of powerlessness and to be experiencing frustrations over peoples' attitudes towards their language and towards them as French-Canadians. Analysis showed that "the majority" of these students evaluated their milieu based on their own experiences and personal observations rather than basing their statements on historical, political, social, economic or psychological evidence or knowledge.

Students' Perceptions of Their Community

According to the students, their community St. Paul, Alberta, has undergone changes over the last ten years. Once a French-speaking community, St. Paul has essentially become an English-speaking community. As a result, the English language predominates in business

and commerce. French-speaking Canadians can no longer be served in their own language. Many students perceived themselves as being discriminated against by those who now control the community.

Student No. 4
Même à St. Paul on rentre dans un magasin, s'addresse en français et tout de suite le commis dit qu'il ne parle pas français. Tu t'addresses alors en anglais, souvent avec difficulté, et le commis n'essaie même pas de parler le français. Alors, pourquoi nous comme français devons nous apprendre l'anglais et les anglais ne savent même pas un mot de français? Les deux langues sont nécessaire pour l'unité du pays et tous celà dépend de nous, les habitants (Noella, sic).

Student No. 13
Une fois à (name of) nursing home quand ma mère a eut des bétises dites parce qu'elle parlait français et les anglophones pensaient qu'elle parlait a propos d'eux, maintenant elle peu plus parler français ou elle travaille. Il y a des femmes qui parlent l'Ukrainien entre eux, mais comme toujours c'est différent c'est l'Ukrainien. Je peu pas vois pourquoi les anglophones détestent tellement les francophones (Terry, sic).

Student No. 2
En Alberta se faire servir en français c'est très rare (Thérèse, sic).

Student No. 15
Dans St. Paul tu vas pas trouvé un anglophone essayer a parler le français à un francophone (Ted, sic).

Student No. 55
A St. Paul, 10 ans aujourd'hui le village était plus français qu'anglais et aujourd'hui on est plus anglais que français parce qu'on a pas fait quelque chose pour nous aider parce qu'on avait peur des anglais (Raymond, sic).

Students' Perceptions of Their Bilingual School

The "majority" of the students indicated that the dominant language in their bilingual school was English and that English was spoken among the students. Students complained that they did not receive enough instruction in French. As a result, these students stated that they were experiencing difficulties in expressing themselves in French. They further indicated that they were ashamed

of the manner in which they spoke their French.

Student No. 19
Les directeurs qu'on a maintenant à St. Paul, comment d'eux sont français? Pas juste capable de parler français, mais qui sont fière d'être un "frog"? Pas trop, ils sont presque tous anglais. Pourquoi? Les "pea soups" et les "frogs" ne sont pas assez bien pour directeur, pour être chef de magasins, des banques, des compagnies, etc?" (Yvonne, sic).

Student No. 51
Aujourd'hui les classes françaises sont 80 minutes à tous les 2 jours mais l'anglais est presque tout la journée! (Joanne, sic).

Student No. 55
Je ne pense pas qu'une personne peut-être vraiment bilingue. Il y a pas assez de temps à l'école pour apprendre le français et l'anglais . . . . Ici a notre école on parle l'anglais la plus part du temps (Raymond, sic).

Student No. 46
Je suis une Canadienne manquer. C'est quelque chose d'en être gêné. Par exemple je suis une canadienne-française et je parle mon français comme une anglophone qui apprend à parler son français (Colette, sic).

Student No. 16
Comme le temps se passe, le français s'en va rapidement. Quand j'étais jeune je parlais juste le français. Aujourd'hui mon français n'est pas bon (Giselle, sic).

C. FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THEIR CULTURE

The "majority" of the students viewed members of their own culture as displaying feelings of shame and of inferiority in the face of the majority. The concept "assimilation" held negative connotations for them. These students viewed members of their own culture as being afraid or too weak to take any kinds of actions in order to maintain their language and culture or to protect their cultural and linguistic rights. In trying to come to terms with these problems, the "majority" of the students stated that the French language or culture is just as 'good' as, or as 'equal' to the English language and culture.

Student No. 3
Beaucoup de francophone quittent leur langue et changent leur nom pour devenir anglais parce qu'ils ont honte. Il n'aiment pas être appelé des "pea soups" ou des "frogs". Il veux pas sembler inférieur. De mon point de vue les français, especialement en Alberta, ont peur de se lever face à face avec des autorités responsables et ordonné des droits également pour eux (Ubald, sic).

Student No. 2
Le monde de St. Paul on peur d'être français en publique (Thérèse, sic).

Student No. 5
Des fois, on voit du monde français qui baisse leur tête pendant qu'ils marchent avant des anglophones . . . . On est toute égale, pourquoi la complexe d'infériorité. Il n'y a pas un plus bon qu'un autre sur cette terre, s'il y en a des supérieures, je mangerai mon chapeau (Elaine, sic).

Student No. 9
Des personnes qui s'assimilent parce que quelque personnes les ont appeller "Frog" ou "Pea-soup" quelque fois, ils sont très faible (Yollande, sic).

Student No. 7
Je pense qu'il a beaucoup d'assimilation dans notre province, parce que les gens ont peur d'agir. Ils ne sont pas assez fières de leurs nationalités pour se battre pour garder leur langue maternelle. Au lieu d'agir envers le bord pour le mieux, ils agissent envers l'autre bord, le méchant bord (Madeleine, sic).

Student No. 14
Les français se sentent inférieur aux anglais en Alberta. Ça devrait être comme la nourriture. Quand quelque chose est plus rare, ça coute plus cher, et les consommateurs l'apprécient plus (Cécile, sic).

Student No. 13
S'ils se cachent, les anglais vont aimer ça parce qu'ils voient que les francophones ont peurent et ils courent. Si juste le monde aurait une tête sur leur épaules! (Terry, sic).

Student No. 22
Ils veulent que personnes savent qu'ils sont français. Ils ont une complexe inférieur. Ils s'appellent des Canadiens-français mais leur noms sont éppeller en anglais (Suzanne, sic).

D. FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE MAJORITY SOCIETY

In their essays, the "majority" of the students seemed to be

seeking a sense of fair play in majority-minority relationships in terms of linguistic and cultural equality. All students demonstrated a certain awareness of double-standards which exist in our society--French-Canadians are obliged, because of societal pressures, to learn English whereas English-Canadians do not have to learn French. The students indicated that they did not 'hate' the English but that they did not appreciate the way in which the English 'looked down' upon them. Students' reasoning, in trying to understand why the English are in control and do not practice equality, was based more on emotionalism than on factual data.

Student No. 2
Cela ne veut pas dire que je n'aimes pas les anglais ou que je n'aimes pas quelques une de leurs coutumes . . . . Je ne vois pas pourquoi les anglais sont tant contres les français . . . . Si les français apprenent l'anglais, les anglais devraient apprendre le français . . . . Si tu te rend au magasin et si tu parles français le monde te regarde comme si tu étais une tête carrer (Thérèse, sic).

Student No. 3
Les anglais sense que les francophones se sont inférieur, et qu'ils sont supérieur et plusieurs des français commencent à les croirent (Ubald, sic).

Student No. 4
"Le français, pourquoi?" disent plusieurs anglophones, "on n'a pas besoin de l'apprendre. Que les français apprennent l'anglais et tout iras bien!" Ceci sont quelques mot qu'on entend souvent des anglais, mais pourquoi n'apprennent-ils pas le français eux? Si on veut que le Canada soit bilingue il faut pourtant faire quelque chose! (Noella, sic).

Student No. 10
Les anglais dominent la vie des Québécois . . . . Ceux qui controle le gouvernement ne pratique pas l'égalité en Alberta. Aux Québec, les Anglais ont des privilèges égale avec les français même si c'est une province française. Mais en Alberta les français n'ont pas la même chance. Les francophone d'Alberta faux savoir la langue anglaise pour faire leurs métier (Lise-Anne, sic).

Student No. 19
Les anglais nous font sentir comme rien comparer d'eux (Yvonne, sic).

Student No. 26
L'anglais a dit a le français "Speak White." Je pense que c'est pas juste parce que le français parlait à l'autre français (Doris, sic).

Student No. 27
Les anglais sont plus fort que les français et la majorité ont ce qu'ils veulent (Michel, sic).

Student No. 34
Les anglais sont nos "commandant" il nous disent quoi faire. . . . On ne peu pas comparer les français et les anglais, il n'y a pas une qui est plus bonne que l'autre (Clarence, sic).

Student No. 39
Les anglais. Ils veulent pas changer. C'est trop de trouble. Alors, il reste comme ils sont (Joanne, sic).

E. FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR FUTURE

The "majority" of the students indicated that the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians was dependent upon the success of bilingualism in Canada. They believed that the success of bilingualism would be possible only if the majority society displayed a willingness to learn French or if the majority developed more positive attitudes toward French-Canadians. Students pointed out that it would not be easy for the English to accept the French language as being equal. Therefore, the students felt that a continuing struggle on an individual and a group basis would be necessary to achieve equality of status. Students placed the responsibility for continuing the struggle for French cultural and linguistic survival upon themselves and not upon the adults of their society. There was no indication in any of the essays that aggressive measures would have to be taken in order to achieve their goal. Instead, the majority of the students displayed a certain faith in the nature of man, that is, they were of the opinion that if the two cultural and linguistic groups

cooperated and worked together, Canada could become a better place for all its citizens.

Student No. 31
La langue maternelle est à la fois langue extérieur et langue intérieur. Il faut donc que le bilinguisme l'aide à s'épanouir à tous les niveau de sa vie (Paul-Emile, sic).

Student No. 14
C'est possible d'avoir un Canada vraiment bilingue, si beaucoup de personnes essayent (Cécile, sic).

Student No. 15
Il faut que le pays essaient a travailler ensemble, il faut que les anglais sont pas plus supérieur et "vise versa" et tous les autres choses (Ted, sic).

Student No. 3
Si les français et les anglais serait plus coopératif entre eux, ils s'aimeraient mieux et ils pourraient s'accorder avec certain points de chaque côté (Ubald, sic).

Student No. 29
Il faut aussi s'ammancher pour communiquer entre les français, les anglais, les Indiens, les Ukrainiens, etc. (Marcel, sic).

Student No. 40
Si on veux avoir un pays bilingue il faut qu'on travaille et s'amuse ensemble (André, sic).

Student No. 8
Si les français essayerait de connaître et comprendre les anglais et si les anglais essayerait de connaître et comprendre les français, il y aurait plus d'unité au Canada. Alors peut-être que le Canada deviendrait bilingue, mais je le doute. . . . Le Canada ne peut pas devenir bilingue si les français deviennent anglais et les anglais restent comme ils sont. Alors, le Canada va être un "melting pot." Tout le monde va être anglais (Carmen, sic).

Student No. 23
Ceux qui souhaite faire de la culture française vont devoir "se grouiller le derrière" et s'engager plus sérieusement (Yvette, sic).

Student No. 7
Si nous voulons du français dans notre province dans le future, il faudrais agir nous autre même, les étudiants et pas attendre après les voisin. . . . Moi je dis que nous ne pouvons pas avoir quelque chose sans un effort, et si nous n'essayions pas, nous n'auront pas plus de français du tout dans le future. Si nous voulons du français il faut que nous les étudiants ce chicanons pour l'avoir et pas avoir peur d'agir. Moi-même je vais

essayer de garder mon français dans le future. Tout dépends sur nous les chefs du future. Bonne chance à tous!!! (Madeleine, sic).

Student No. 6
Pour le Canada soit bilingue, il faut avoir la justice et la même montant d'une langue que de l'autre. Il faut avoir l'égalité entre les deux langues. Moi, je pense que c'est possible, mais c'est très difficile pour les gens (Adrien, sic).

As a means of guaranteeing the survival of the French-Canadian's language and culture, the "majority" of the students prescribed changes in the bilingual school system. They called for more French instructional time; the teaching of subjects in French; the hiring of 'good' French teachers, and a curriculum which would assist them in developing a pride in their heritage and in making the Anglophones understand their culture.

Student No. 41
Il faut mettre beaucoup de français dans les grades 6-7-8-9 et aussi dans les élémentaires (Madeleine, sic).

Student No. 19
Si on veut garder notre langue française on a besoin de toutes nos institutions qu'on a maintenant et même on a besoin plus. Peut-être si on aurait beaucoup de classes en français, comme la science, les mathématiques, les études sociales, etc. Si tous nos classes seraient en français la on apprendrait la langue (Yvonne, sic).

Student No. 42
Pourquoi pas avoir des "subject" en français par example: Math, science, Pourquoi pas, ça va être un peu dure, mais c'est la même chose de l'apprendre en français ou en anglais (Doris, sic).

Student No. 29
Les principales des écoles devraient regarder pour des bon maîtres et qui connaissent beaucoup le français pour l'enseigner aux étudiants (Marcel, sic).

Student No. 37
Pour avoir un Canada bilingue il faudrait avoir des francophones du Québec pour venir ici comme des maîtres pour enseigner les anglais, Ukrainiens et les autres qui ne savent pas le français (David, sic).

Student No. 1
Il faut infiltrer la fièrté de notre héritage française dans l'esprit de les jeunes, alors qu'ils gardent leur identités comme Canadiens-Français (Linda, sic).

Student No. 4
Toutes les écoles devraient être bilingue. Aussi, s'il y aurait plus d'information française, il y aurait plus de professeur français. . . . Pourquoi se séparer des autres parce que notre langue est différente? On devrait se joindre a eux pour leur montrer nos traditions et peut-être apprendront-ils a aimer notre langue et culture (Noella, sic).

Student No. 5
Comment est-ce qu'on peut mieux s'identifier pour être fière de notre langue? On peu formée plus d'organisations française, plus de magazins français, plus de programmes de télévisions en français et quand un Anglophone nous appelle "Frog" on lui poinerai et lui jetta dans un classe française pour qu'il apprenne un peu de notre langue (Elaine, sic).

Student No. 6
Pour aider les gens d'être bilingue, il faut que les jeunes soit enseigné jusqu'au grade douze avec deux langues (Adrien, sic).

PART III. DISCUSSION FOR GENERATING FURTHER STUDIES

The purpose of this discussion is to discover whether data provided by the students' essays is reliable for generating hypotheses.

A. IDENTITY

The small St. Paul sample disclosed that, even though the Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students demonstrated a pride in being French-Canadians or Franco-Albertans they suggested that they liked to speak both English and French and that they were proud to be bilingual. Even though they may have placed a value preference on the French language, their own situation appeared to be such that they spend a good part of their time communicating in English with friends, at school, in their community, and for some, even at home.

Sociologists of knowledge such as Berger and Luckmann theorize that a child takes on his parents' and significant others' language, culture, roles and attitudes and internalizes them and makes them his own. In the process, children acquire a subjectively coherent and plausible identity (1967, pp. 131-132). Identity, according to these authors, is formed by social processes, and once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations (p. 173). This group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students have internalized their parents language, culture, roles and attitudes, but as a result of their social situation and social relations with the English majority in their community and in their bilingual school, they have modified or even reshaped their identity. For discussion purposes we could classify this identity as a "bilingual" identity. What are the implications of this "bilingual" identity?

B. IMPLICATIONS OF A "BILINGUAL" IDENTITY

Silla explains that the Franco-Albertan, as member of a minority group, lives in a conflicting situation. This conflicting situation is an outcome of living in two realities, a global reality and a group reality. Silla describes this situation as a source of frustration, alienation and trauma for the individual because his ethnic values may be opposed to the national values.

> Il vit deux réalités souvent opposées; une réalité groupale et une réalité globale; une réalité linguistico-culturelle française et une réalité anglophone. En fait une situation conflictuelle, source de frustration, d'aliénation et de traumatisme (1974, Vol. I, p. 294).

If Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students do live in two cultural-linguistic realities, to what degree do they find their "bilingual" identity

satisfying? What would be the relationship between their "bilingual" identity and their perceptions of members of their own cultural group, and of the majority society?

Negative Perceptions of Self and of Others

In a study entitled "Ethnic Stereotypes; Attitudes or Beliefs" Gardner, Taylor and Feenstra conclude that, by the time a child reaches his middle teens, he has incorporated a self-reliant perception of his own group (1970, pp. 321-324). Ainesfeld and Lambert in "Evaluation Reactions of Bilingual and Monolingual Children to Spoken Languages" theorize that, as a child grows older and gradually widens his experience, he may become more sensitive to the overall climate where he may be discriminated against because he is French. The authors infer that the child, unless he has a high evaluation of himself, may tend to adopt these encounters with the English community as support for his poor self-image and eventually become reconciled to the idea that he is inferior. These authors further propose that, as the child is made to feel more and more inferior, he could more than likely accept the majority's group decision about his characteristics (1964, pp. 89-97). From the statements expressed by the students, the possibility exists that these young Franco-Albertans are experiencing a poor self-image of themselves as a result of their encounters with the English community. Further, lacking a high evaluation of themselves and faced with certain forms of discrimination, Franco-Albertan students tend to project their poor self-image upon members of their own cultural group.

From the data in the students' essays, one could conclude that this small group of Franco-Albertan students may, unconsciously, not find their "bilingual" identity satisfying but rather frustrating and

alienating. For example, these students described members of their own culture as being incapable or afraid to take any actions to bring their language and culture on an equal footing with the majority language and culture. Further, these Franco-Albertan students perceived members of their own culture as being "shy," "meek," "humble," and "submissive" in the face of the forces of assimilation, or more particularly, in the face of the majority. Even when the students committed themselves to cultural and linguistic survival, they appeared to lose confidence and become afraid that they would be incapable of acting. Acting, in their essays, meant making an effort to speak their French on an individual or group basis.

"Subtractive" Bilingualism - a Step to Assimilation

Assimilation, according to Bochner, presents connotations of inferiority, self-rejection, and in extreme instances, self-hatred (1973, Vol. I, p. 27). In contrast, integration, involves positive attitudinal changes and the removal of fears, hatreds, suspicions, stereotypes, and superstitions (Clark, 1960, pp. 16-17). If one attempted to situate this small group of Franco-Albertan students on a continuum with the concept 'assimilation' at one end of the pole and the concept 'integration' at the other end of the pole, likely, these students would tend to be drawn toward the 'assimilation' end of the pole. Their fears for their language and culture; their feelings of being linguistically inferior because of their poor performance in the French language; their feelings of 'guilt' based on their lack of effort to speak French when the occasion presents itself; their suspicions that the English view them as being inferior; the stereotyping of members of their culture as being afraid to act are

some of the attributes which would place them toward the 'assimilation' end of the pole. To these attributes could also be added the following factors: the students see themselves as rapidly losing their French; the composition of their community which does not give them an opportunity to live in French; the limited course offerings and instructional time in French in their bilingual school; the lack of parental encouragement to speak French and, the negative attitudes toward the French language and toward French-Canadians by those in control of business and institutions in their community. If this small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students, because of their social situation are experiencing linguistic difficulties and what would seem to be a poor self-image of members of their culture, then what, according to research could be the implications of these problems on learning?

Cummins, in "Educational Implications of Mother Tongue Maintenance" proposes that when first language skills are poorly developed the results are likely to be that these children are less likely to gain high levels of second language skills due to the limiting effect exerted by their low level of first language competence (1978, p. 405). Further, he explains, learning a language is not sufficient for assisting students in mastering their mother tongue and developing conceptual thinking. It is important that students be exposed to "school subjects which require abstract modes of thought" (p. 406). Cummins, in reference to the education of minority Francophone students in certain rural areas of Alberta states that,

> 50 percent of the time in L1 seems insufficient to maintain pupils' French L1 skills in a situation where the influence and prestige of English is so pervasive. Consequently, children's desire and ability to speak French declines over the school years (p. 401).

From the data provided by the small sample of Franco-Albertan students, it would seem that they were receiving less than 50% of their instruction in French as they stated they were receiving 80 minutes of French every second day. Also from the information supplied in their essays, they advised that they were not being offered subjects in French which, according to Cummins' research are necessary for developing conceptual thinking and mastery in their first language. According to the teacher who piloted the module, "Nous Sommes Franco-Albertains" to the small group of students in St. Paul, the module was piloted in a French Language Arts classroom and not an Etudes Sociales classroom as students were receiving Social Studies instruction in English.

After analysing both cultural and psycho-educational factors, Cummins concludes that the minority children's competence in their first language should be actively promoted by the school (1978, p. 411). He states, "instruction mainly through French for minority Francophone students will significantly benefit their French L1 skills at no extra cost to English L2 skills." At the same time, quoting Lambert, he explains that a bilingual-bicultural base for minority-language children "can enhance their sense of personal well-being, their sense of social justice and their tolerance and appreciation of human diversity" (p. 411).

C. THE POSSIBLE FUTURE OF FRANCO-ALBERTANS

The small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students arrived at what would seem to be similar conclusions to that of Cummins and Lambert. The students agreed that they were not receiving enough instruction in the French language and as a result could see them-

selves as rapidly losing their language. Not one student proposed that French schools should be established as a means for resolving their linguistic and cultural problems. Instead, they would like to see the concept of bilingual education developed. The students specified that they wanted to study with English-speaking children in bilingual schools; that they would like to receive more instruction in French including subject matter in French such as maths, science and social studies; that they would like bilingual schools not only to assist Francophones in maintaining their language and culture and to learn English, but also they would like bilingual schools to play a major role in promoting an understanding between French and English-speaking Canadians.

Taylor and Simard in "The Role of Bilingualism in Cross-Cultural Communication" concluded after conducting an experiment involving factory workers from both linguistic groups who are fluent in each other's language that bilingualism appears to be a viable solution to the problem of communication among members of different ethno-linguistic groups. The authors inferred from their findings that if conditions can be created which require interaction between groups in a situation where no group dominates the other and where members of both groups attain a degree of bilingualism, then they foresee that efficient communication and positive attitudes may result. Taylor and Simard are firmly convinced that bilingualism, especially reciprocal bilingualism, may be a reasonable solution to the problem of inter-ethnic group interaction (1972, pp. 101-108). From the data provided by the Franco-Albertan students from St. Paul it would seem that their community over the last 10 years has been moving away from any form of

reciprocal bilingualism. According to the students the English-speaking population now dominates the St. Paul locality and there seems to be no evidence that members of the St. Paul community intend to work toward any form of reciprocal bilingualism.

As the data on the psycho-educational development of minority-language children in Canada are sparse, Cummins cautions us that the few studies which have been carried out in the Canadian context only "suggest the need for more intensive investigation of the issues" (1978, p. 411). In the absence of Canadian data, he further indicates that "caution should be exercised in generalizing from other minority-language situations" (p. 411). The purpose of referring to some of the existing research in the discussion in this chapter was not to arrive at generalizations based on other minority-language situations, but rather to seek out what could be certain similarities between other minority-language situations and the situation of a small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students. The exploratory case study in this chapter should be viewed as a starting point for developing hypotheses or for carrying out comparative studies between minority-language student populations in Alberta and in other areas in Canada.

SUMMARY

The findings in this chapter were as follows:

1. The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students indicated a pride in being French-Canadian or Franco-Albertans. Further, these students placed a high value on the English language which they tend to use in their community, at school, with friends and, for a few, even at home.

2. The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students viewed their community and their bilingual school as "agents of assimilation." Further, the students demonstrated an awareness that they are rapidly losing their mother tongue.

3. The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students viewed members of their own culture as passive persons unable to take any kinds of actions in order to protect their cultural and linguistic rights. Further, the students were under the impression that the French language and culture 'ought' to be equal to the English language and culture.

4. The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Alberta students were concerned about the issue that bilingualism is not reciprocal in their community, in their province and in Canada.

5. The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived their cultural and linguistic survival as being dependent upon the development of the concept of bilingualism, combined with the majority society's understanding of French-Canadians and the French culture.

A Few Inquiry Problems

To what extent are the perceptions and the predictions made by a small group of 55 Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students attending a bilingual school in St. Paul, Alberta in the spring of 1975 a fairly accurate picture of the situation of other young French-Canadians attending bilingual schools? Given that French-Canadians in Western Canada are rapidly becoming assimilated and that they lack political and economic power which limits or restrains them from making decisions as to what 'ought' to be the role and goals of bilingual education

in society (see Chapters I, II, III of this study), it would seem that these factors are at the root of the small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students' poor self-images and negative perceptions of members of their own culture.

Why would the majority of the students in the sample proclaim that they were proud to be bilingual yet on the other hand perceived members of their cultural group as appearing to be inferior to the English? To what degree are the poor or negative images which the students projected upon members of their own culture a reflection of their own poor-self images? Is there a relationship between the poor or negative images the students projected upon members of their cultural group and the negative attitudes which the students expressed toward the majority culture on the issue that the English are not willing to make any efforts to know French or to understand French-Canadians? Is there a relationship between the practices in the bilingual school and classrooms and the students poor-self image and negative attitudes? Is there a relationship between what would seem to be the small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students' linguistic difficulties when writing in French and their academic achievement and performance in English? To what degree are their linguistic difficulties affecting their attitudes toward English-speaking Canadians? To what degree are the students reproaching members of their own culture for the linguistic difficulties they seem to be experiencing in school? The above referred to questions are only a few inquiry questions which can be generated from the findings of this exploratory case-study. The overriding question of interest to this study is: "What are the implications of the findings in this chapter

for the Etudes Sociales curriculum?" "How could the Etudes Sociales curriculum assist Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools to develop positive self-images and positive images of others from either their own culture or from the majority society?" In Chapter V of this study an attempt is made to answer these two last questions.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]The module, "Nous Sommes Franco-Albertains" which was piloted in June, 1975 in St. Paul, Alberta was organized into five sections. Each section contained a general objective, a list of concepts to be developed, content materials, suggested teaching-learning strategies, skills to be developed and evaluation suggestions.

The value issue for the module was: "Est-ce que le jeune Franco-Albertain doit se soumettre aux forces de l'assimilation?" ("Should the young Franco-Albertan submit himself to the forces of assimilation?") The value issue was selected with members of the Junior High Etudes Sociales Ad Hoc Committee from the Interim Science Sociales Curriculum Guide which had been prepared by a group of bilingual educators (Enseigner les sciences sociales, Grades 7 - 8 - 9, 1973).

The five general objectives for each section were as follows:

Section 1: "Que les étudiants deviennent consciens que l'homme est libre de choisir et d'agir mais que souvent la peur l'empêche de choisir et d'agir."

Section 2: "Que les étudiants deviennent consciens que la perspective qu'un individu a de lui-même, n'est pas la perspective qu'un autre a de lui, surtout si cet individu parle une autre langue et appartient à une autre culture, ou bien si le teint de cet individu est d'une autre couleur."

Section 3: "Que les étudiants deviennent consciens que les francophones au Canada ne sont pas les seuls qui font face à l'assimilation."

Section 4: "Que les étudiants deviennent consciens du processus d'assimilation des francophones en Alberta, tout en devenant consciens de leur propre situation en face de l'assimilation."

Section 5: "Que les étudiants deviennent consciens qu'il existe des alternatifs s'ils choisissent de ne pas devenir assimilés."

The three major concepts to be developed in the module were: "l'assimilation, l'intégration et, s'identifier."

The content materials selected for each section were as follows:

Section 1: Florence, par Marcel Dubé - extrait d'une pièce de théatre.

Section 2: (a) Chanson, Québec Mon Pays, par Raymond Lévesque sur cassette et aussi sur feuille.
(b) Nigger Black par Yvon Deschamps - monologue sur cassette.

Section 3: (a) Extrait - The Roots of Prairie Society, par J. E. Rea.
(b) Extrait d'un passage par Eugène Cloutier, La Plus Grande Ville Française en Dehors du Quebec.
(c) St. Boniface History began with Provencher, par Marius Benoist, Winnipeg Free Press, mardi, le 7 mai, 1974.

Section 4: (a) Extrait de l'article par Denise Stocco, Approche Historique des Franco-Albertains.
(b) Extrait de l'article par Dr. Ousmane Silla, Approche Sociologique et Psycho-Sociale des Franco-Albertains.
(c) Extrait de l'Etude Démographique par M. Michel Mabru.
(d) Statistiques du Recensement du Canada, 1961 à 1971.

Section 5: (a) Article par Paul Jackon, 90% des Anglophones Contre le Bilinguisme, Winnipeg Free Press, le 16 juin, 1972.
(b) Article par Léo Poncelet, Falher, Where is Bilingualism in Alberta? Edmonton Journal, Tuesday, April 15, 1975.
(c) Article par Léandre Bergeron, Pourquoi Apprendre l'Anglais. Le Digeste Québécois, Vol. I, No. 3, été, 1972.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Underlying this study was the assumption that the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians ought to be a priority in our conceptions of bilingual education in Alberta. Concern that the philosophical and theoretical basis of the Etudes Sociales curriculum, intended for use in Alberta schools which offer instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act, may not be conducive to the cultural and linguistic survival of French-Canadians provided the impetus for undertaking this study (Chapter I outlines these concerns).

Whether the curriculum for Alberta's bilingual schools ought to place a major emphasis on the French-Canadian's cultural and linguistic survival was considered a historical, political, legal, ethical and moral issue--an issue which ought to be approached by policy-makers from a more thoughtful, critical and reflective stance. The dilemma between our professed ideals and our practices in Canadian society demonstrated a need to pursue educational goals which could improve the quality of life and the quality of relationships between young French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians (Chapters II and III outlines our political, economic and social practices affecting French-English relations). From this vantage point, ways were sought which could help French-Canadian students attending Alberta's bilingual schools maintain their language and develop their culture (Chapter IV outlines Franco-Albertan students'

cultural and linguistic concerns). Keeping in mind the nature of bilingual schools in Alberta and the nature of Franco-Albertan society within the Canadian context, objectives were sought for the Etudes Sociales curriculum which could help both Franco-Albertan and non-Francophone students attending bilingual schools to become tolerant and open-minded persons so they can shape a more tolerant society.

An inquiry into the meaning of the term The French Fact disclosed that the term implied a multitude of complex interpretations. From either a political, legal, economic, social or educational frame of reference, historians, social commentators and educators who have used the term The French Fact seemed to demonstrate a concern or an interest in either the processes, the problems, the implications, or the values and assumptions underlying the French-Canadian's struggle for cultural and linguistic survival. Depending on the historian or social commentator's cultural perception and value commitment, the term The French Fact within a given frame of reference was interpreted as being either "genuinely" real or only "apparently" real. For example, Bouthillette, a Quebec separatist, from a political perspective interpreted The French Fact as being "genuinely" real in Quebec as in Quebec French-Canadians have control over their political institutions which permits them to change or reform their social and economic institutions. Outside of Quebec, Bouthillette perceived The French Fact as being a 'myth', which implies that The French Fact is only "apparently" real. Bouthillette reasoned that The French Fact outside of Quebec is a myth as French-Canadians live in milieus which denies them their authentic existence and their collectivity's distinctiveness at the provincial levels (1972,

pp. 26-31). The analytical theme of power and lack of power was used in this study to arrive at alternative formulations of the historical and contemporary interpretations of the meaning of The French Fact and its relationship to bilingual education practices and the Etudes Sociales curriculum in Alberta. From the vantage point of power and lack of power, a tentative working definition of The French Fact for the purpose of the present chapter was formulated as follows: "The French Fact is a generative term which posits an unending process involving the French-Canadians' struggle, from generation to generation, to cope with the conditions of their human existence." From this frame of reference, the relationship between the Alberta Etudes Sociales and The French Fact can best be described as: "The French-Canadians' lack of political power in education which limits or excludes them from actively participating in policy-making and decision-making processes affecting their human condition, especially as it relates to their cultural and linguistic survival."

The findings in this study and their implications are discussed in the present chapter under the following three major headings: Part I deals with an overview of The French Fact and Franco-Albertan society; Part II presents an overview of bilingual education in Alberta and the Etudes Sociales curriculum; Part III is concerned with an overview of the cultural perspectives of a small group of Franco-Albertan students. Under each part, after the findings and their implications for curriculum have been discussed, a series of recommendations from different relevant vantage points are made together with suggestions for future research. The recommendations in the present chapter follow an inquiry conducted from the point of view

of the society (Chapter II), the school (Chapter III), the milieu (Chapters II and III), the subject matter (Chapters I and III), and the learners (Chapter IV). The recommendations outlined under Parts I, II, and III of the present chapter are inconclusive and open-ended. Further, the recommendations in the present chapter are concerned only with one problem of selection of content as this study limited itself to knowledge about The French Fact. The recommendations under Parts I, II, and III are tentative suggestions only and are intended to serve as a beginning point for (a) conceptualizing a more systematic rationale and goals for bilingual education and, (b) for constructing a more reflective and explicit set of objectives for the Etudes Sociales curriculum based on social theories and theories of learning which are more in accordance with the needs of bilingual students.

The research recommendations outlined under Parts I, II, and III of this present chapter were generated as an outcome of an awareness of a lack of data which could have been of assistance in clarifying (a) the nature of the values surrounding our social and political practices as they relate to bilingual education and, (b) the nature of the knowledge we use to construct our social reality and how this knowledge shapes the inconsistencies between our ideals and practices in English-French relations. There is a need for more basic and applied research in the area of bilingualism. The ambiguity which surrounds bilingual education practices and the effect of these practices upon students will have to be further clarified before we begin to design Etudes Sociales curriculum with the intent of improving the education of Franco-Albertan and non-Francophone students attending bilingual schools.

PART I. THE FRENCH FACT AND FRANCO-ALBERTAN SOCIETY

Using the perspective of power and lack of power, Chapter II explains that, throughout French-Canadian history, English-Canadian as well as French-Canadian power groups have been responsible either for determining or for delimiting the French-Canadian's possibilities for political, economic, linguistic and cultural development. The outcomes of these power plays have influenced the development and evolution of The French Fact in Quebec society and the devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada.

A. EARLY CONCEPTIONS OF THE FRENCH FACT

The early conceptions of The French Fact in Canadian society have their source in the Conquest of 1760. Faced with a conflicting symbolic universe and threatened with assimilation by English-Canadians, French-Canadians have preoccupied themselves with their cultural and linguistic survival.

An Identification of The French Fact with Clericalism

In the years following the Conquest of 1760, the Roman Catholic Church became the pivot of the French-Canadian's cultural tradition. The French-Canadian clergy took a leadership role in defending the French culture against Anglo-Protestant materialism and conformity by using their social and educational institutions to carry on a struggle for religious, cultural and linguistic survival. This 'struggle' became legitimized with the clerical conception of the French-Canadian's Providential Mission and with the myth of the rural life.

B. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRENCH FACT

Even though the early development of The French Fact both inside and outside Quebec can be identified with clericalism, the actual development and evolution of The French Fact in Quebec society has followed a different cultural route than it has in Western Canada. As a consequence, French Canadians in the West have evolved into different cultural persons than French-Canadians in Quebec.

The Development and Evolution of The French Fact in Quebec

In Quebec, the quasi-religious concepts which exalted the promotion of ideals such as "la race," "la nation," "notre maître le passé" gave order and meaning to the French-Canadian world view. Catholicism permeated all aspects of French-Canadian life and, as a result, quasi-religious concepts became integrated into the early nationalist movements in Quebec. The Church either directly or indirectly influenced the French-Canadian's political, economic and social actions. In a sense, the pursuit of religious ideals tied in with political, economic and social actions delimited the French-Canadian's political, economic and social growth in a rapidly changing modern technological world. In spite of these limitations, Quebeckers still managed to evolve The French Fact.

In the early development of French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec the emergence of concepts such as federalism, autonomy, independence and separatism which demonstrate the existence of pluralist thought in that society can be detected. These concepts eventually superimposed the quasi-religious concepts found in earlier forms of French-Canadian nationalism. Implied in concepts such as autonomy, independence and

separatism were more secular ideals, assumptions and values than Other-World-of-God traditions. From new philosophical perspectives, French-Canadians in Quebec saw themselves as capable of acting upon their world to bring about changes. Since the late 1950's, Quebeckers have been reforming and transforming their significant political, social and educational institutions. With control over their political and social system at the provincial level, Quebeckers found that they had the power to influence economic development in Quebec. The vitality of the French-Canadians' actions in Quebec have resulted in the Quebeckers creating a more modern, viable and dynamic French culture which could meet the demands of an ever growing industrialized society.

The Devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada - Franco-Albertans

In Western Canada, the development of The French Fact followed a different cultural and social pattern than it has in Quebec. The emphasis placed by the French-Canadian Catholic clergy on preserving and defending the status quo in Western French-Canadian society created a cultural lag between tradition and change, limiting French-Canadians from creating and inventing new cultural forms to meet the demands of urbanization and industrialization. This cultural lag combined with the attractiveness of the majority culture are at least two main reasons for the devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada.

The quasi-religious concepts and ideals which permeated all aspects of the Western French-Canadian's life never materialized into any nationalist movement as they had in Quebec society. Instead, quasi-religious patriotic associations were developed by French-Canadians with the assistance of the clergy. Even though these associations were involved over the years in carrying out a struggle

for French-Canadian cultural and linguistic survival, a priority was still placed within these organizations on the promotion of religious zeal in French-Canadian life.

At the turn of the century, Franco-Albertans saw their linguistic rights and their equality of status at the provincial level reduced to privileges and permissions by the English-speaking majority who were gaining control of Alberta's political and economic institutions. With the growing rate of English-speaking Protestant settlers into Alberta combined with the French-Canadian's lack of large amounts of capital necessary for developing industries and resources under growing industrialization, French-Canadians began to lose their political and economic power in Alberta. With the loss of control over their significant political and economic institutions, Franco-Albertans eventually lost control or gave up control of their significant socialization institutions.

Assumptions can only be made why French-Canadians lost control or gave up control of their educational institutions. One fact which seems pertinent is that the Franco-Albertans' educational institutions were not secularized. Educational institutions remained under the control of the Church until control was assumed by the majority society.

By virtue of the intended or unintended loss of control by Franco-Albertans over their significant institutions, the English culture has become dominant, determining and delimiting the Franco-Albertans' range of possibilities for cultural and linguistic development. Franco-Albertans, like other Western French-Canadians, have, over the years, turned to the federal government for linguistic and cultural assistance. The Western French Canadians' dependency upon federal

grants for cultural maintenance has basically made them into consumers of French culture rather than creators of French culture. The French-Canadians' dependency upon federal assistance clearly demonstrates that French-Canadians in Western Canada lost control of their significant institutions in provinces which disregard their linguistic equality, and in the process, they have lost that certain sense of energy and tenacity which seems to be necessary for evolving a culture. No matter who benefits the most from federal grants, the overall implication of the French-Canadians' loss of control over their significant institutions and their development of a dependency on federal government sources for cultural maintenance would seem to be that, at this time, French-Canadians living in Western Canada may never evolve a more modern, viable and dynamic French culture.

The rapid assimilation of Western French-Canadians may be indicative of the attractive power of the English culture. The English culture may now be more relevant to the Franco-Albertans' needs in a modern, technological and urbanized world than traditional French-Canadian modes of thought founded on quasi-religious concepts about reality, knowledge and values. Further, the power of the English culture in Franco-Albertan society is more than the sum of a set of institutions. The English culture is the Franco-Albertans' environment, an environment which impinges, determines and limits their life-style and life-chances. Even though some Franco-Albertans' claim to have maintained their language and culture, the French culture they refer to is more than likely made up of an amalgam of traditional French-Canadian modes of thought combined with a mixture of English and other ethnic thought forms. These English and other ethnic modes

of thought have probably filled the void created by a cultural lag between French-Canadian tradition and the Western Canadian environment. French-Canadians and English-Canadians alike may have been responsible for the devolution of The French Fact, in its traditional sense. The devolution of The French Fact does not necessarily mean that the French culture in Western Canada is nearing extinction; but, rather, Western French-Canadians have, within a larger society, evolved a hybrid "franglais" culture which is more relevant to their needs in a modern, technological world.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS

On the premise that Western French-Canadians have evolved a hybrid "franglais" culture within the context of Canadian society, young Franco-Albertans should be made aware of their cultures' operation in their total environment and life experiences. Zais suggests that one way culture can be illuminated is through education. Zais goes on to explain that, unless education illuminates the culture, "it reveals to us the submerged basis of our beliefs" then man may not be so free to shape that culture (1976, p. 158).

Curriculum Development and Policy-Making

From the vantage point of curriculum development and policy-making, including a theme on The French Fact at each grade level in the Etudes Sociales curriculum from a traditional-historical perspective or from a cultural and linguistic survival perspective (see Chapters I and III of this study) is insufficient for assisting Franco-Albertan students and non-Francophone students attending bilingual schools to understand the development and evolution of The French Fact in Quebec

society as compared to the devolution of The French Fact in Western Canada and the implications of the issues involved. An official Etudes Sociales Program of Studies with a philosophical and theoretical basis which is congruent with the objectives and substantive content of the curriculum is required to fully understand The French Fact.

A Philosophical Basis for an Etudes Sociales Program of Studies

Based on the nature of The French Fact within Canadian society (see Chapter II of this study), bilingual schools need an official prescriptive Etudes Sociales Program of Studies containing a philosophy which includes clearly defined principles, assumptions and beliefs about the cultural and linguistic duality of Canadian society and about the existence of cultural plurality in Canadian society. The aims of these principles, assumptions and beliefs should promote an equality of status between French and English-speaking students attending bilingual schools. The philosophical basis for the Etudes Sociales Program of Studies should allow students an opportunity to acquire the appropriate knowledge and skills which will assist them in clarifying the many conflicting and confusing historical and contemporary interpretations and values about English-French relations in Canada. The purpose of having students clarify the many conflicting and confusing historical and contemporary interpretations and values about English-French relations in Canada is to help them to deal not only with "what was," "what is," but also with "what ought to be" if they are to create and shape a more tolerant and open-minded local and global society.

A Theoretical Basis for the Etudes Sociales Program of Studies

Given the nature of the development and identification of

The French Fact with clericalism as described in Chapter II of this study, one can assume that the clerical tradition with its myths, ideologies and assumptions based on Other-World-of-God philosophies still shapes some of the knowledge being transmitted to French-Canadians. In Chapters I and III of this study it was demonstrated that some French-Canadian Etudes Sociales curriculum developers appeared to value the method of tenacity as an effective way for students to gain knowledge about The French Fact (The French Fact from a traditional historical-clerical perspective at the grades 4, 5 and 7 levels). The method of tenacity, Banks suggests, is not an effective way of gaining knowledge "because man is capable of believing almost anything imaginable" (1974, p. 14). There is therefore a need for an Etudes Sociales Program of Studies which would contain a theoretical basis aimed at developing the student's critical thinking and creative thinking. A basic feature of critical thinking which ought to be included in the theoretical basis of an Etudes Sociales Program is:

> As children gain experience, critical thinking may be put to use in examining beliefs and values that are meaningful to them. For example, taking turns, fair play, equal opportunity, and rights of others may be considered in terms of why we value them, how they improve working relations, and how we can extend them to various situations. Beliefs or values that are just "taken on" because of association with others will not be firmly grounded in understanding. A person who takes on beliefs uncritically is trained, not educated. If learners reflect, reconstruct, and test beliefs, they will be more likely to have evidential grounds and not just an emotional basis for holding them. Both the meaning and significance of treasured values and beliefs are thus enhanced (Michaelis, 1976, pp. 181-182).

Further, given the rapid assimilation of Western French-Canadians, Franco-Albertan students attending bilingual schools should be given an opportunity to be original rather than to conform, to develop

divergent thinking in which multiple responses are made rather than convergent thinking in which unifying responses are made, and to produce new ideas rather than to reproduce old ideas (p. 182). The inclusion of critical thinking skills and of creative thinking skills ought to be integrated with the theoretical basis of the Alberta Social Studies Program as it relates to: (1) attending to affective and cognitive objectives, and (2) inter-relatedness of values, knowledge and skills in the Etudes Sociales Program of Studies (Program of Studies for Junior High Schools, 1975, pp. 11-16.

Objectives to be Developed in the Etudes Sociales Curriculum

The Etudes Sociales' curriculum objectives and substantive content ought to be congruent with its philosophical and theoretical basis. In order to assure more congruency with the above outlined philosophical basis and theoretical basis, the following objectives are recommended for development in an Etudes Sociales curriculum:

The Etudes Sociales curriculum ought to assist Franco-Albertan and non-Francophone students in bilingual schools, from different perspectives, to:

1. Historical Perspective.

   1.1 Compare traditional and contemporary French-Canadian history to that of traditional and contemporary English-Canadian history in order to:

      1.11 Decide how different interpretations of Canadian history came about.

      1.12 Explain why different interpretations of Canadian history exists.

      1.13 Evaluate the purpose of myths and ideologies in French-

Canadian history.

1.14 Recognize how myths and ideologies from our past knowledge still shape our modes of thought.

1.15 Explain how tradition and change has been treated in Canadian history.

1.16 Differentiate between concepts such as federalism, autonomy, independence and separatism.

2. Geographic and Demographic Perspective.

2.1 Reconstruct maps and charts showing the demographic distribution of French-Canadians across Canada in order to draw generalizations as to why in certain areas of Canada French-Canadians either have political and economic power or no political or economic power.

3. Political-Legal Perspective.

3.1 Identify Acts, laws, statutes and legislations which have given French-Canadians and English-Canadians linguistic rights at the federal and provincial levels.

3.2 Evaluate how either power and lack of power has affected the linguistic and cultural rights of French-Canadians and English speaking Canadians.

3.3 Identify how the values, assumptions and beliefs underlying local, provincial, and federal institutional practices can affect the cultural and linguistic rights of French-Canadians and English-Canadians (in Quebec and outside of Quebec).

3.4 Reorganize institutional practices so that they reflect bilingual and bicultural values and cultural pluralism.

4. Economic Perspective.

4.1 Describe the relationship between economic power and lack of economic power as it relates to the cultural evolution or devolution of The French Fact (in Quebec and outside of Quebec).

5. Social Perspective.

5.1 Determine what is normative and acceptable behavior in both French-Canadian society (in Quebec and outside of Quebec) and English speaking society so that decisions can be made as to what are prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices in English-French relations in Canadian society.

5.2 Appraise the discrepencies between societal "ideals" and societal "practices" as they relate to English-French institutional practices.

5.3 Infer why conflicts between French-Canadians (in Quebec and outside of Quebec) and English speaking Canadians occur.

5.4 Recognize how social changes brought about by immigration, modernization, technology and urbanization may have affected traditional French-Canadian society in Quebec and outside of Quebec.

5.5 Identify political, economic and social factors which could threaten the French-Canadian's cultural and linguistic survival.

5.6 Generalize as to how French-Canadians and English-Canadians can work together to create and to shape public and social institutional policies at the local, provincial and federal levels.

5.7 Reconstruct decision-making procedures which reflect cultural

duality or cultural plurality (community, local, regional, provincial, federal political events and elections could serve as case studies for revisions or amendments).

5.8 Design the theoretical framework for the creation of a tolerant and open-minded community or society which recognizes cultural and linguistic duality and cultural plurality.

D. RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

1. A more in depth study as to how French-Canadians in Western Canada have lost control or given up control of their significant social and educational institutions ought to be undertaken. More specifically, an inquiry should be made into the following questions:

   1.1 Why were significant educational institutions never secularized by the French-Canadian population?

   1.2 Were there any attempts made by French-Canadian groups or individuals to acquire control from the Catholic Church of French-Canadian institutions before control was transferred to the majority?

   1.3 Were any guarantees for maintaining and developing the French character of educational institutions transferred to the majority built into transfer contracts?

   1.4 What steps have been taken by the majority society who acquired control over significant French-Canadian institutions to maintain these institutions as viable French-Canadian institutions?

2. A more scientific attempt ought to be made to identify the values, beliefs, assumptions and ideals of Western French-Canadians in order to determine the degree of hybridization of French culture. For example,

2.1 What values and beliefs do French-Canadians hold as being more precious and worthwhile?

2.11 Spiritual values?

2.12 Materialistic values?

2.13 Other identifiable values?

2.2 How do French-Canadians come to terms with conflicting values derived from different philosophies of life?

2.3 What value do Western French-Canadians actually place on:

2.31 Maintaining the French language and culture?

2.32 Developing or evolving the French language and culture?

2.4 What social actions or political actions would Western French-Canadians be willing to undertake to:

2.41 Maintain their language and culture?

2.42 Develop or evolve the French language and culture?

2.5 How do Western French-Canadians perceive themselves as a cultural group in the face of the majority?

2.51 As equals?

2.52 As inferior?

2.53 As superior?

2.6 How do Western French-Canadians perceive themselves as a cultural group when compared to Quebeckers?

2.61 As equals?

2.62 As inferior?

2.63 As superior?

2.64 As different cultural persons?

3. A study should be undertaken to determine if in an assimilated Canadian of French ancestry's knowledge of reality modes of thought which mask exaltations of French-Canadian philosophies of life are still submerged. The need for such a study is based on observations that, even though some Canadians of French ancestry no longer speak the French language and believe themselves to be culturally "like the majority," there appears to still be submerged in their knowledge of the world and in their overt behavior ways of acting and behaving representative of French-Canadian norms, values and traditions. More specifically,

   3.1 How are assimilated Canadians of French ancestry affected by the fact that either their grandparents or other members of their family represent a French cultural heritage?

   3.2 How are assimilated Canadians of French ancestry influenced or affected when either a cousin, an aunt, or other members of their family speak French?

   3.3 How are assimilated Canadians of French ancestry affected by their family name which can be labelled as "French" in origin?

   3.4 How does an assimilated Canadian of French ancestry react when a co-worker calls him "Frenchie"?

4. An inquiry ought to be conducted into the Western French-Canadians' political and social thought in order to determine if Western French-Canadians believe themselves to be participants in the shaping of their environment. More specifically,

   4.1 To what degree are Western French-Canadians actively involved

in political or social organizations or associations?

4.2 To what degree are Western French-Canadians involved in making political or social decisions at the local and regional levels?

PART II. BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE ALBERTA ETUDES SOCIALES CURRICULUM

Schools are not separate entities in a society. They cannot be detached from their social, political and economic environment. The curriculum used in schools generally reflects a society's philosophies of life. When two societies compete within the same institution to attract the young to a particular philosophy of life, eventually the society with the greater political and economic power is likely to attract the young. The society with the greater power can promise the young not only a conception of the 'good life' but it can display more tangible or concrete 'things' which the 'good life' has available for them. The problem with the notion of the attractive power of culture for a young French-Canadian is that the culture which entices him may fail to accept him as a social, cultural and linguistic equal.

In Chapter III of this study an inquiry into the bilingual education practices in Alberta and into the Etudes Sociales curriculum's philosophical, theoretical and substantive content was carried out to determine if bilingual schools, (that is schools which offer instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act) have been designed with the intent of assisting French-Canadians to shape the French culture or if the purpose underlying these schools reflects the pursuit of other societal-cultural goals stemming from the English culture. Data suggested that the abrogation of the French-Canadian's linguistic rights and equality of status at the provincial level at the turn of

the century became institutionalized by English speaking Canadians through the limitations which they have placed on French instruction in the province of Alberta.

A. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN ALBERTA

Until approximately the 1960's, Franco-Albertans had the choice of sending their children either to Church-controlled educational institutions or to public (Catholic or Protestant) schools. Because there were few Church-controlled educational institutions in the province and the curriculum in these classical institutions was designed for preparing ecclesiasts and a small professional elite, the majority of Franco-Albertans had to satisfy themselves by sending their children to public schools, a few which offered a dual curricula, a Program of Studies which originated from the Alberta Department of Education and a curriculum designed by l'Association des Educateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta (l'A.E.B.A.).

The curriculum developed by l'A.E.B.A. was basically oriented toward maintaining traditional French-Canadian Catholic philosophies of life. The worth of l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum could be interpreted from two perspectives. On the one hand l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum assisted young French-Canadians in maintaining the French language and French-Canadian traditions. On the other hand, a curriculum founded on Other-World-of-God philosophies may not have been relevant to students living in a rapidly changing technological world. Several factors seem to have made the Alberta Program of Studies more attractive than l'A.E.B.A.'s curriculum. The heterogeneity of the bilingual classroom; the lack of good quality staff to teach the French language and culture,

(an outcome of the lack of bilingual teacher training institutions); the fact that Franco-Albertan students were required to pass departmental examinations in English based on the Alberta Program of Studies; the desire of many Franco-Albertan parents that their children become economically successful in the Alberta environment; and the French-Canadian's lack of power at the local school level may have been factors which, in one way or another, contributed to drawing Franco-Albertan students toward the majority culture's philosophies of life.

With the modifications and amendments being made to the School Act, from the 1950's onward, giving School Boards permissions to increase instructional time in French, Alberta Education's Curriculum Branch assumed the responsibility for developing the curriculum for French instruction. In the process l'A.E.B.A. lost its political power in education. Since the 1920's, l'A.E.B.A. had acted as an unofficial French Department of Education in the area of French and religious instruction. L'A.E.B.A.'s loss of control in the area of French curriculum decision-making meant that in bilingual schools teachers would be obliged to follow the Program of Studies for French instruction as formulated by Alberta Education. The limitations placed upon a group of French-Canadian bilingual educators responsible for the development of an 'appropriate' Etudes Sociales curriculum (see Chapter I of this study for the issues and concerns which led to this study) can therefore be attributable to the French-Canadians' lack of political power in education in the province of Alberta.

B. CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN ALBERTA'S ETUDES SOCIALES

When the Junior High, Senior High and Upper Elementary Ad Hoc

Committee members developed Etudes Sociales curriculum guides, each guide included a rationale which took into consideration the special nature of students attending bilingual schools. With an interest in maintaining the French language and culture the Junior High and Upper Elementary Ad Hoc Committee members included a theme on The French Fact at each grade level as part of the curriculum's substantive content (see Chapters I and III). The Ad Hoc Committee members' interpretation of an 'appropriate' curriculum meant a curriculum designed to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of Franco-Albertan students and non-Francophone students--not just the needs of the majority society. The prescriptive content of the Etudes Sociales curriculum originated from the Alberta Social Studies Program which meant that the philosophical and theoretical basis of the Etudes Sociales curriculum had to reflect the majority society's socio-cultural goals, values and assumptions. As a consequence, the existing Etudes Sociales curriculum guides are based on competing societal values.

A recent statement made by an Alberta Education representative at a Social Studies 1-2-3 (French) Ad Hoc Committee meeting that

> There should NOT be two programs. The rationale should be the same for both English and French. Both groups should be going in the same direction. Certainly resources will be different (Minutes of Meeting, February 27-28, 1978, p. 2).

demonstrates how Alberta Education is in the process of legitimizing its new role and authority in the area of bilingual education in Alberta.[5] Based on the premise that power is "closely related to social control" and that "the category of social control suggests some sort of unified social system which tries to keep individuals or groups within its bounds," (Berger and Berger, 1975, p. 281) the

February 27-28, 1978 Alberta Education policy-statement seems to be setting a guideline for the development of future Etudes Sociales curriculum in Alberta. Further, the February 27-28, 1978 Alberta Education policy-statement could be interpreted as suggesting that during the years 1974 to 1978 the Junior High, Senior High and Upper Elementary Ad Hoc Committee members may have deviated from majority norms by superimposing, in the Etudes Sociales curriculum, multiple-societal goals by adding a theme on The French Fact.

C. BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE FRENCH FACT IN ALBERTA - THE FUTURE

The Franco-Albertans' loss of political power in education at the provincial level will certainly not be rectified by federal government initiatives in the area of bilingualism. The modifications and amendments made to the School Act in Alberta giving School Boards permissions to increase instructional time in French may have been influenced by changes in Canada's political power structure at the federal level as a result of the Canadian political climate. The rigorous assertion of The French Fact in Quebec society since the late 1950's, the conceptualization of the Official Languages Act in 1968, and the availability of federal funds for the development of the concept of bilingualism in education combined with the demands made by French-Canadian organizations may have influenced the Alberta government to modify and amend its School Act with regard to French instruction. But, the fact still remains that "permissions" are not "rights."

The power to increase instructional time in French in Alberta's bilingual schools remained in the hands of local School Boards. In school divisions where French-Canadians had no control or influence over

educational decision-making the modifications and amendments to the School Act were usually not implemented. Without the 'right' to receive instruction in French built into the School Act, Franco-Albertans remain subject to the whimsical influences of local, regional and provincial power groups and to the goodwill of the majority. As a consequence, some Franco-Albertans negatively view the concept of bilingualism. In theory the concept of bilingualism is not problematic. Only when the concept of bilingualism is put into practice in a system which fails to recognize the equality of status of French-Canadians does bilingualism become problematic. There are no safeguards built into the system to guarantee a just and equitable translation of bilingual theory into practice.

The linguistic difficulties experienced by young Franco-Albertans in the French language demonstrates only one of the problems engendered by a politico-legal system which places very little value on the cultural and linguistic survival of one of Canada's Official Language groups. The development of a form of negative or subtractive bilingualism in Alberta's bilingual Schools (Cummins, 1978) has somewhat paralleled the devolution of The French Fact in Alberta and the evolution of a hybrid "franglais" culture. Because French-Canadians lack political power in education, their cultural and linguistic survival has now become dependent upon the majority culture who have the power to prescribe educational goals and objectives for French instruction.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS

As the concept of bilingual education in Alberta has become

institutionalized at the provincial level over recent years and as a new Regulation (A. reg 250/70) was adopted in 1976 which permits instruction to be given in French for all subjects except English Language Arts, Franco-Albertans and non-Francophones who place a high value on the French language as desirable knowledge for their children should take socio-political actions at the provincial and School Board levels aimed at creating viable structures for implementing the new 1976 Regulations in bilingual schools as follows:

The Bilingual School Milieu

1. Creating additive bilingualism.

   1.1 Bilingual schools in Alberta should formulate explicit commitments to work toward creating "additive bilingualism" in their schools in an effort to help Franco-Albertan students develop their first language skills while immersing non-Francophones into the French language. Additive bilingualism could offer benefits that could help Francophone and non-Francophone students work toward creating a more tolerant and open-minded society. According to Lambert, "additive bilingualism is a mode of schooling in which a student becomes comfortably bilingual and bicultural and capable of participating fully in both cultures (Cummins, 1978, p. 411). Lambert further explains that becoming bilingual and bicultural does not necessarily mean a loss or dissolution of identity (1978, p. 544). Cummins further adds that "additive" bilingual learning situations are conducive to a variety of cognitive advantages (1978, p. 401). Based on Lambert and Tucker's research on the yearly self-conceptions and attitudes of

English-Canadian children who took the majority of their elementary schooling via French, the students' "feelings toward French people have become decidedly more favorable. These students now think of themselves as both French and English-Canadian in personal makeup" (1978, p. 543).

2. The practice of equality-of-status in bilingual schools.

   2.1 Bilingual schools should reflect a bilingual and bicultural climate, not only in the classroom but also in the hallways, in the school yard, at the administrative level and in staff relationships.

   2.2 Bilingual schools should promote an equality-of-status concept which recognizes cultural and linguistic duality and also cultural plurality. Many students attending bilingual schools are from ethnic groups other than French and English.

3. School-community relations.

   3.1 Because schools do not operate in a void, bilingual schools ought to have a close working relationship with the community and with parents.

      3.11 Student-community bilingual projects in areas such as curriculum development should be established.

      3.12 Students should get community support for small business development.

      3.13 Public speech and debate societies should be established.

      3.14 Students should participate in their community's historical society.

      3.15 Students should become involved as junior members in political parties.

3.16 There should be student representatives on School Boards and on local socio-political community organizations.

Objectives for the Etudes Sociales Curriculum

The Etudes Sociales curriculum ought to contribute in assisting Franco-Albertan and non-Francophone students in bilingual schools to became actively involved in social-political actions in their community. The Etudes Sociales curriculum ought to contain objectives aimed at assisting students in bilingual schools to:

1. Community involvements.
   - 1.1 Reconstruct their local history.
   - 1.2 Identify the role and responsibilities of their local leaders.
   - 1.3 Differentiate between the purpose and needs of their local socio-political organizations.
   - 1.4 Participate in local socio-political organizations.
   - 1.5 Participate in bilingual community projects.
     - 1.51 Plan bilingual community projects.
     - 1.52 Utilize community resources.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Curriculum Development and Policy-Making for Bilingual Schools

1. As the limitations placed by Alberta Education on a group of French-Canadian Etudes Sociales curriculum developers have been interpreted in this study from a vantage point of power, a further study ought to be made in order to determine Alberta Education's policy practices as follows:
   - 1.1 How was the need for Etudes Sociales curriculum guides determined by Alberta Education?

1.2 What is Alberta Education's commitment toward French-Canadian cultural and linguistic survival?

1.3 What were the motives underlying the February 27-28, 1978, statement made by a representative of Alberta Education to a group of Social Studies 1-2-3 (French) Ad Hoc Committee members?

2. An inquiry ought to be conducted into the factors and policy practices underlying Alberta Education's actions since the 1960's to increase instructional time in French and to take over the responsibility for developing curriculum for French instruction.

3. A more in-depth study into the program development and program implementation problems and issues encountered by l'A.E.B.A. over the years should be made. More specifically,

3.1 What kind of a working relationship did l'A.E.B.A. have with:

3.11 The Department of Education?

3.12 School Boards who offered instruction in French under Section 150 of the School Act?

3.13 With teachers of French in bilingual schools?

3.2 What were some of the factors underlying l'A.E.B.A.'s loss of political power in education?

4. An inquiry should be conducted to determine Alberta Education's future plans for implementing the Etudes Sociales curriculum in Alberta's bilingual schools.

4.1 What kind of services is the Alberta Department of Education willing to provide in order to assist teachers in bilingual schools to implement the Etudes Sociales curriculum?

4.2 What kind of services has the Alberta Department of Education

provided from the 1960's onwards to assist bilingual teachers in the province in the implementation of the Etudes Sociales curriculum?

5. An inquiry should be conducted to determine the willingness of Alberta Education's Curriculum Branch in establishing a separate philosophical and theoretical basis for the Etudes Sociales.

Bilingual School Milieu and the Etudes Sociales Curriculum

1. A study ought to be made in order to determine the extent to which the Etudes Sociales curriculum is being implemented in Alberta's bilingual schools. More specifically,

   1.1 How do bilingual teachers perceive the new Etudes Sociales curriculum guides as compared to the past translations of the English Social Studies documents?

      1.11 What are the shortcomings of the Etudes Sociales curriculum guides?

2. Do bilingual teachers find that they are sufficiently qualified to teach the Etudes Sociales curriculum?

   2.1 From what perspective do bilingual teachers approach the theme The French Fact in their classrooms?

      2.11 From a traditional historical-clerical perspective?

      2.12 From a contemporary historical perspective?

      2.13 From a critical perspective?

      2.14 From a cultural-linguistic survival perspective?

   2.2 According to Alberta's bilingual teachers, what is the purpose of the Etudes Sociales as a subject matter for French instruction?

      2.21 To assist Franco-Albertan students to maintain their

language and culture?

2.22 To assist Franco-Albertan students to develop a more modern and dynamic French culture?

2.23 To assist Franco-Albertan students to conform to the norms and values of the majority society?

2.23 To assist both Franco-Albertan and non- rancophone students to clarify past and present values about English-French relations in Canada?

2.24 To prepare bilingual students to live in a rapidly changing social, economic and political world?

3. Are bilingual teachers in Alberta involved in any local curriculum development projects in the area of Etudes Sociales?

3.1 Are parents involved in Etudes Sociales curriculum development projects?

3.11 To what extent are parents consulted as to what cultural aspects of the French culture the bilingual schools ought to be developing?

3.2 To what extent are bilingual teachers involved in identifying socio-cultural needs in their community before planning their Etudes Sociales lessons?

3.3 To what extent do Etudes Sociales teachers make use of local community resources?

4. What percentage of the time do Etudes Sociales teachers teach in French in their classrooms?

PART III. FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS' CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

Chapter IV of this study shows that a small group of Grade 9

Franco-Albertan students (55 students) from a St. Paul, Alberta, bilingual school were not only experiencing linguistic difficulties in French but they also were experiencing psychological perceptual problems related to feelings of shame because they lacked quality in their spoken and written French, and general feelings of inferiority in the face of the majority.

Since this case study was exploratory in nature, the data is not generalizable beyond the group itself. However, this data does seem to substantiate that some Franco-Albertan students attending Alberta's bilingual schools are developing a form of negative or subtractive bilingualism rather than developing additive bilingualism.

A. SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALISM AND FRANCO-ALBERTAN STUDENTS

The small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students displayed a tendency to consider themselves as being "bilingual." However, this group also had a strong fear that they were in the process of losing their French language. They stated that they tend to be attracted to the English language and culture. The power of the English culture seems to permeat most aspects of their lives. Franco-Albertan students perceived their community and their school as being agents of assimilation. They suggested that they were being "discriminated" against by the English-speaking population who had gained control of all aspects of economic life in their community. The students also stated that the atmosphere in their school was English rather than French. They expressed that they received insufficient instruction in French but would like to be able to take more of their subjects in French throughout each grade level. Overall, this small group of Grade 9

Franco-Albertan students had poor images of themselves and of members of their own culture.

Equality versus Inequality

There was a general feeling among the fifty-five students that they lacked equality of status in their community and in Canadian society. They perceived bilingualism as being one-way. They had to learn English but the English did not have to learn French. These Franco-Albertan students were disturbed that members of French-Canadian society had not stood up for their rights. As a consequence, these students seemed to confuse economic inequalities in their milieu with not being equal to the majority as cultural and linguistic persons.

Superiority versus Inferiority

The small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived members of their own culture as being apathetic and submissive to the will of the majority. The poor self-images and feelings of inferiority expressed by these students was based mainly on their lived experiences and perceptions of the world from more of an affective attitude. These students appeared to have very little political, economic or social conceptual knowledge or terminology for evaluating their existential condition. What these students seemed to lack were social science concepts for communicating the meaning of their social-cultural life-experiences. As a result, the language which these students used in their essays (see Chapter IV for samples of student statements exactly as written by them) was emotionally charged. French-Canadian colloquialisms and words borrowed from the English language, that is a combination of 'franglais' words, were used in order to express an

idea about a political, economic or social state of affairs in their milieu.

The Franco-Albertan Students' Bilingual Identity

The Franco-Albertan students' perceptions of reality seemed to indicate that their French culture is made up of a hybridization of French-English 'franglais' traditions. The students' perceptions of self-in-the-world appeared to be founded on a French-Canadian world-view. When they 'feel' French they are proud and very emotional. Usually they are referring to a family event or a family milieu where the French language is spoken and everyone in the family laughs together while enjoying traditional French-Canadian social activities. The small group of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students also seemed to feel at ease in English with their peers. There was not a single comment in the students' essays about any negative aspect of French-English peer relationships. The situation was different when the students made any reference to their community or to Canadian society. At the community and societal levels the students became defensive and fearful as they felt that their language and culture was being threatened. The threats to their language and culture were viewed as threats to them as persons. The stance from which this small sample of Grade 9 Franco-Albertan students perceived their environment indicates that these students have not developed a philosophy of life which could given them confidence to face open conflicts, conflicts engendered by their social, economic, political or psychological milieu.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

Objectives for the Etudes Sociales Curriculum

The Etudes Sociales Curriculum ought to assist Franco-Albertan and non-Francophone students in bilingual schools to develop an explicit or reflective philosophy of life. Objectives should be developed which will help students to:

1. Cultural heritage.
    1.1 Reconstruct their family history.
    1.2 Identify their traditions, customs and beliefs.
        1.21 Compare French-Canadian traditions, customs and beliefs to those of English-Canadian or other ethnic groups' traditions, customs and beliefs.
2. Stereotyping.
    2.1 Analyze ethnic stereotyping, distortions of reality and ethnic attitudes and values which are projected in verbal and non-verbal behaviours by members of the French-Canadian culture and by members of the English or other ethnic cultures.
        2.11 Assess social situations objectively.
3. Norms, values and beliefs.
    3.1 Clarify their values, prejudices and behaviours relating to their ethnicity.
        3.11 Differentiate between what appears to be discriminatory practices and misunderstandings arising between cultural groups as a result of different values and beliefs.
    3.2 Recognize the difference between conflict and what appears to be conflict.

3.21 Discriminate between economic inequalities, political inequalities and social inequalities as compared to psychological states of mind.

3.3 Recognize what is meant by norms in different social and institutional situations.

3.31 Who sets the norms?

3.32 How are norms upheld by members of a community?

3.4 Appraise English-French relations in their community in order to assess the values underlying these relationships.

3.41 Deduce what happens in a community when one cultural group becomes economically or politically dominant.

3.411 Who sets the linguistic pattern in a community?

3.412 How does the linguistic pattern of a community affect the school?

3.413 How does the linguistic pattern of a community affect minority groups?

3.5 Recognize that new knowledge and new ways of thinking may sometimes throw us into turmoil, threatening our whole relationship to the world and undermining our feelings of security embedded in our traditions.

3.51 Explain how an individual develops negative feelings toward members of his own culture as a result of the "attractive" power of another culture.

The Etudes Sociales Teacher's Role

Given the nature of the society in which young Franco-Albertans develop, the role of the Etudes Sociales teacher is a very complex one.

The Etudes Sociales teachers are faced with developing the linguistic abilities of students in bilingual schools who may be performing at different levels in the French language. Further, Etudes Sociales teachers have to assist students in bilingual schools to develop abstract modes of thought. Depending on teacher perspectives and traditions, the modes of abstract concept formation taught by them in the Etudes Sociales classrooms could either run counter to the matrix of social and economic activity in the Albertan context or, could run counter to traditional French-Canadian attitudes. Etudes Sociales teachers should:

1. Modes of thought.

    1.1 Be aware that the categories and symbols of either traditional French-Canadian modes of thought or of traditional English-Canadian modes of thought which may have formed their world-view in the past, in a world that was different, may no longer be relevant to young Franco-Albertan students or to non-Francophone students.

        1.11 Demonstrate some familiarity of the abstract symbolic systems which make up the French-Canadian world-view.

    1.2 Be able to recognize French-Canadian myths, ideologies, values, beliefs and assumptions which still permeats some of the content materials being used in Etudes Sociales classrooms.

2. Knowledge about the bilingual milieu.

    2.1 Have an understanding of the various meanings and interpretations of <u>The French Fact</u> and the implication of these meanings for bilingual education.

    2.2 Have an understanding of theories of language and cognitive

development in bilingual children.

C. RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Research on English-French peer relationships in the Etudes Sociales classroom ought to be conducted.
2. Research dealing with how Franco-Albertan students perceive themselves as members of a minority group and how Franco-Albertan students perceive members of both their own culture and the majority culture is needed.
   - 2.1 More instruments of lower inference than essays should be used. These instruments should either validate or reject some of the issues on poor self-images which Franco-Albertans seem to have of themselves and of members of their own culture (see Chapter IV of this study).
   - 2.2 A further study of factors underlying the Franco-Albertan students' poor self-images ought to be made. Possible research questions include:
     - 2.21 Are these poor self-images a direct result of the development of negative or subtractive bilingualism in Alberta's bilingual schools?
     - 2.22 To what degree do Franco-Albertan students' poor self-images reflect parental perceptions of their existential situation?
     - 2.23 Are the Franco-Albertan students' poor self-perceptions learned in the socialization processes?
3. Classroom studies on the development of norms, values and beliefs ought to be made and the data recorded in order that cultural

categories may be developed for further investigation. Possible research questions in this area include:

3.1 To what degree do Franco-Albertan students reflect French-Canadian modes of thought in their verbal and non-verbal behavior?

3.2 To what degree do Franco-Albertan students appear to have internalized the values and beliefs of the majority culture?

4. Studies ought to be made in order to determine how non- rancophone students in bilingual classrooms in Alberta perceive themselves and their Franco-Albertan peers.

4.1 Some studies could be made before and after Etudes Sociales units on the theme, The French Fact have been introduced in the classroom.

5. A study into bilingual teacher preparation for the Etudes Sociales ought to be carried out in order to determine the congruency between the kinds of knowledge and skills required to teach the Etudes Sociales curriculum to students in bilingual schools.

CONCLUSION

Splitting one's world into little parts in order to arrive at some holistic view of the relationship between Alberta's Etudes Sociales and The French Fact is a complex and almost impossible task as one is dealing with a series of contradictions founded on conflicting assumptions and beliefs about the nature of values, the nature of reality and, the nature of knowledge. Any attempt to arrive at some kind of a definition of The French Fact for the purpose of curriculum becomes an intellectual challenge as one suddenly is faced with

having to take a position. The French Fact perceived as a generative term which posits an unending process involving the French-Canadians' struggle, from generation to generation, to cope with the conditions of their human existence implies a moral and ethical problem for curriculum. Depending on one's value commitment and cultural perspective, the pursuit of educational goals which could assist young French-Canadians in maintaining and developing their language and culture could be viewed as a worthwhile goal to pursue or as an undesirable goal to pursue in Alberta's bilingual schools. The position taken in this study was that bilingual schools should assist young Franco-Albertans in developing an additive form of bilingualism rather than a subtractive form of bilingualism. Further, it was proposed in the present chapter that the curriculum used in bilingual schools should provide students with the kinds of knowledge and skills which could assist them in developing a tolerant and open-minded society. The position taken in this study toward bilingual education requires that bilingual schools take on a reconstructive role in society. Many countervailing economic, political, and social forces could prevent bilingual schools from taking on a more reconstructive role in society. Without an evolution in social thinking about The French Fact, any reconstructive approach to the Etudes Sociales could be caught in the dichotomy between tradition and change.

Lacking political power in education, French-Canadians in Alberta have become dependent upon the majority culture for the education of their young. The problem with the dominance of the English culture in education is that it has limited French-Canadians from creating and inventing new cultural forms to meet the demands of an

urbanized and industrialized society. Western French-Canadians have either aspired to become like the majority, or have become engulfed in a sea of Anglophones. For the Western French-Canadians who have chosen to continue the struggle for cultural and linguistic survival, they have been unable to evolve a French culture. Instead, they have evolved some form of a "franglais" culture which is made up of French-Canadian norms, values and traditions combined with an amalgam of English cultural norms and values. In comparison to French-Canadians in Quebec, Western French-Canadians, because of their political, economic and social condition will not be able to forge a new self-identity as have Quebeckers. Quebeckers, always preoccupied with the national question, have since the 1960's managed to create and invent new cultural forms through their political and social institutions to meet the demands of a modern industrialized world. Western French-Canadians seem to have no other option but to work through the concept of bilingualism if they wish to continue their struggle for cultural and linguistic survival. The French Fact as a generative term implies that those in power have an obligation to take into consideration universal principles such as equality and justice when formulating policies and educational goals which will affect the young Franco-Albertan students attending Alberta's bilingual schools. To a certain extent, the Etudes Sociales curriculum used in bilingual schools today could be a major determinant as to whether or not French-Canadians "will be there at the end of the story" (Toynbee).

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